Culture and Collaborative Conservation?

Inter-cultural Difference and the Maungatautari Project

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MATTHEW S. HARMS

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Abstract

This thesis situates and examines the role of sociocultural difference and biculturalism in the Maungatautari Sanctuary Mountain project, a multi-stakeholder community-based biodiversity conservation project in the Waikato region of New Zealand's North Island. In the project, *Mana Whenua* (local indigenous Māori groups) and *Pākehā* (New Zealanders of British and European descent) from the area endeavour to interact and partner in the non-profit Maungatautari Ecological Island Trust (MEIT) as its primary stakeholder groups. Utilizing sociocultural anthropology, three years of participant observation, participant interviews, fieldwork data and contextualizing history, the role of culture and issues of biculturalism and partnership are examined in relation to the respective sociocultural backgrounds and identity of project participants. Findings indicate that sociocultural difference in the form of varying beliefs, values, attitudes, practices and protocol, and identity/cultural politics have led to dissonance and strained stakeholder interrelations that negatively affected the project. In some instances, a post-colonial 'neo-paternalism' marginalised local Māori cultural input and needs in the project. At other times project participants successfully bridged inter-cultural differences. In these occurrences they created a collaborative, complementary, bicultural partnership which valued, sought to understand, and incorporated differing sociocultural aspects, advancing project goals. Further analysis identified an ongoing risk of future multi-stakeholder dissonance relative to culturally-derived disparate views on such issues as cultural harvesting, species reintroductions and care, ecotourism, development on the mountain, and biodiversity research. Normative solutions are identified which can aid Maungatautari stakeholders and other culturally-heterogeneous multi-stakeholder conservation groups work toward and produce inclusive, inter-cultural partnership.

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Preface

This thesis is the outgrowth of a longstanding interest in the interaction between human culture and the environments humans occupy. Growing up in Phoenix, Arizona, I often had the chance to explore various Native American ruins and environments throughout the American Southwest. This included tours through Hohokam archaeological sites located in the heart of the Phoenix area. These excursions entailed walking amongst crumbling walls of former livings sites Hohokam inhabited and tracing the extensive agricultural water canal systems they developed to intensively grow food crops all across the desert valley. During tours we discussed theories on their abrupt disappeared after flourishing in the area for centuries. I recall being informed that crop failure due to soil salinisation related to the canal-fed irrigation they relied on, and the region's perennially hot, dry climate, led to social instability and political strife. Amidst the arrival of competing Native American groups to the area, we were informed this instability led to their demise and dispersal from the area. Being young and impressionable, this societal 'collapse' in conjunction with human-related environmental change left an indelible impression on me.

Following high school, I lived on various Hawaiian Islands over a few years. There, I became familiar with other examples of human-induced environmental change and degradation and its negative effects on indigenous biota and human populations. One such example involves Kaho`olawe Island. At the time, some Native Hawaiians were then seeking to regain full control over, and restore the ecosystem on, the small, uninhabited island. A few years later, when engaged in bachelor's studies, I researched the critically-deteriorated ecological situation of this island to better understand the situation and identify what means were available to help restore it.

In the mid-1990s the island sustained little in the way of flora or fauna. It was no longer forested, had no soils, and much of its reefs were dead. This condition is due to two primary factors. First, British and American colonisation introduced Western socio-economic lifeways to the Sandwich Isles. On Kaho`olawe, this took the form of intensive sheep and goat herding. Overgrazing soon dramatically thinned forest undergrowth and ultimately destabilised the entire island ecosystem. With regular rain and a dearth of undergrowth and shrubs, the island's soils progressively washed into the sea, choking coral reefs, and creating a positive feedback loop of deterioration that left the island denuded. Deadpan emerged and the island became quite useless for any human or animal lifeways. Second, after the United States was pulled into the Second World War, U.S. military operations, in desperate need of

trained gunners and bombers, commenced using the island as a target for naval gunnery and aerial bombardment training. This use of the island, which continued until 1984, further destroyed the island and left enough unexploded ordinance to deter any grass-roots attempts at conservation there.

Elsewhere in the Hawaiian Islands, various human actions over the years significantly altered the biotic landscape and produced long-term deleterious effects for human and endemic species. Mongooses, for instance, which were introduced to predate rats that arrived on 18th and 19th century ships, instead predominantly hunted and ate easier prey such as endemic insects and avifauna and their eggs. Hardy prickly pear cactus from the North American Sonoran Desert is another example. Introduced in the early 1800s to be used as hedging and fodder for cattle, it never became useful for ranchers. However, it did become a tough and noxious weed that interferes with various endemic plants and hurts local ecosystems. These are but two examples of human caused non-native species introductions which have negatively affected Hawaiian ecosystems and become pests to endemic and native species. Saliently, due to the island chain's geographical isolation, nearly ninety percent of Hawai`i's native species are endemic. Accordingly, many are either ill- or unequipped to compete against non-native species. This condition, combined with pressure from habitat loss due to significant human made landscape change, has resulted in the extirpation of many endemic species across the isles and irreparably altered Hawaiian environments. These experiences and lessons have remained with me and underscored my academic interest in the human–environment dialectic.

Whilst living in Hawai`i, and through later studies, I became familiar with the diverse sociocultural milieu that was created in the isles. In the 1800s, the native Hawaiian population plummeted due to foreign disease to which they had no immunity. To compensate for lost labourers, those in control of Hawai`i's sugar and other agricultural industries arranged for migrant labourers from China, Southeast Asia and Japan. Other migrants came from across Polynesia, Europe and the United States. Consequently, Hawai`i's contemporary society is diverse in nature, though residents there share a unique, 'island', in-situ culture. Even so, I recognised that the differing social status, lived experiences, and sociocultural backgrounds amongst Hawai`i's peoples meant that at times certain societal issues and challenges were not always viewed in the same way between them. The cultural lens, lifeways, and values they each had differed sufficiently to sometimes hinder collaborative efforts at addressing these challenges.

Years later in master's thesis fieldwork exploring community-based and other forms of conservation in Hawai`i, I recognised the impact cultural heterogeneity was having amongst stakeholders of a certain project there. At times they did not always views problems and project aspects in the same way, agree on what constituted an environmental and biodiversity problem worthy of their time, and if so, how they should go about addressing it. In various instances these culturally-derived differences strained stakeholder relationships enough to threaten their project's efficacy and existence. Through this master's research, which was generally focused on the role of culture and sociohistoric factors in local conservation, I began to wonder whether, and to what degree, such inter-cultural tensions and challenges were affecting other projects elsewhere in Polynesia, such as New Zealand. At the time I knew little of the Maungatautari Ecological Island project. From a distance, it seemed that the project, which was moving forward and achieving successes, was an example of a healthy multi-stakeholder partnership, and one that was including the sociocultural beliefs and values of all those involved. However, given what I had found in Hawai'i, I resolved to investigate the Maungatautari project's trust and community and see how inter-cultural difference was being navigated.

In consult with Dr Michael Goldsmith at The University of Waikato in New Zealand, I developed these issues and questions into a doctoral research proposal focused on the inter-cultural navigations of the Maungatautari project's stakeholders amidst strong national discourse of biculturalism and how these navigations affect the project itself. After securing an international doctoral research scholarship from Education New Zealand, my family and I obtained the requisite visas and relocated to the Leamington suburb of Cambridge in July 2009. Thereafter, I enrolled at The University of Waikato, School of Social Sciences, developed a full doctoral research plan, and obtained full research and ethics approvals. Formal fieldwork began from January 2010 and ended in July 2012.

Organization of Thesis

The introductory chapter of this research begins by presenting the core questions and aims that underlie this research and anthropological effort. It introduces the Sanctuary Mountain Maungatautari ecological island project, some specifics of the biodiversity project's geographical site, and the key stakeholders of the project and the mountain it is sited on. There is also section devoted to a discussion of the sociocultural milieu in New Zealand, its unique form of biculturalism, and how these are part of the project and conservation writ large in the country. A section in the chapter also discusses the term 'culture' from an

anthropological standpoint and how it is being examined in this research. Another section peruses the disciplines and theorem that inform the research and its approach. The final section traverses the methodology utilised and associated concerns.

Chapter two details the history behind formation of the non-profit Maungatautari Ecological Island Trust and the beginnings of the eco-project. It starts by looking at the lives and experiences of those most closely associated with the development of the idea for project and what led to the development of the Maungatautari biodiversity conservation project. It then discusses how original project proponents gathered and assessed the views of various stakeholder groups and those of the wider community concerning the idea of creating the Maungatautari project, and how this galvanised supporters and effectually launched the project. Three sub-sections detail and discuss these galvanising participatory consultations held with local community members, farmers and/or landowners with land on Maungatautari, and local Māori groups with connections to the mountain and area.

The third chapter takes a look at some of the core sociocultural underpinnings of New Zealand society and the idea of biculturalism there. A historical review sets the stage and ends with an examination of some of the more relevant and impactful developments in New Zealand's contemporary society that play into efforts there to examine and (re)assert identity and efforts and discourse in relation to biculturalism. This is discussed further in relation to the various socio-political ideological and policy approaches aimed at configuring its peoples in relation to one another, which vie for attention and dominance in New Zealand. The final section of the chapter discusses the variegated forms and views of biculturalism in New Zealand and the ways in which it is thought to accomplished.

Chapter four contextualises conservation on Maungatautari through a brief history and discussion of conservation and the use of protected area conservation around the globe. Further, it explores the sociocultural configuration that came to exist in New Zealand. This lays the groundwork for the thesis' examination of inter-cultural communication and partnership in a New Zealand context. The chapter also examines the landscape change that both Māori and European settlers made post A.D. 1840. It also surveys the cultural and physical marginalisation of Māori in New Zealand as they became enveloped in a Western-based sociocultural society and nation. Similarly, European settlement and colonisation of New Zealand is examined. A section explores the presence of Māori tribes and hapū on and around Maungatautari through their lore and history. There is also a discussion concerning the change and developments that occurred across the country and in the Waikato region throughout the nineteenth century. Concluding this chapter is a section that focuses on the

1840 Treaty of Waikato between the British Crown and Māori groups as it concerns the modern nation-state of New Zealand. This discussion explores the treaty's role in New Zealand's nascent society and its contemporary role in societal discourse on a number of interrelated issues that impact upon Māori and other New Zealanders' joint efforts at environmental and biodiversity conservation.

Chapter five assesses multi-stakeholder interaction in the Trust relative to the participants' cultural notions, values, practices and protocol in relation the goal of partnership, inclusion and biculturalism. This assessment first looks at the Trust's meetings both before and during my time living in New Zealand, which covers a time period from 2001 to mid-2012. Additionally, a number of trust meetings are ethnographically unpacked and discussed. Further, a single meeting is reviewed and closely examined. In aggregate, the assessment and these examinations provide a concrete, overall picture of multi-stakeholder interaction relative to the sociocultural backgrounds of participants and the notion of biculturalism.

Chapter six looks at the ways the variegated sociocultural backgrounds of project participants affects the work of the project. A number of project events and developments are examined relative to the cultural beliefs, values, and practices of those involved. Each section of this chapter examines an event in conjunction with a central theme or topic and concludes with discussion and analysis.

Chapter seven looks at the individuals from the wider community who have engaged in the project in order to more fully examine the role of culture in the MEIT project. A number of profiles of individuals and couples are presented which relate what these individuals said about their family history and roots, their identity, their lives and interests, and the narratives and expressions they related concerning their involvement in the MEIT project. The chapter concludes with a section that discusses these expressions and highlights participants' similarities and differences. Importantly, the chapter contextualizes material presented in the following chapter.

Chapter eight continues the core objective of examining the role of culture in the MEIT project by looking at the views participants expressed relative to certain concepts, ideology, competing discourse, and terms associated with biodiversity conservation, stakeholder cultural politics, and inter-cultural collaboration in a New Zealand context. The first part of the chapter examines participants' views relative to certain topics and issues vis-à-vis their sociocultural background and cultural identity. Patterns in these views are identified and normative solutions, seen as being able to foster healthy multi-stakeholder

partnership in the Trust, are distilled and discussed. Part two of the chapter assesses participants' views and understandings on a number of key terms which often surface in debate and discourse surrounding the MEIT project and conservation efforts generally. Participant views on the term 'biculturalism' and a number of other English and Te Reo Māori terms are examined and analysed to determine the degree to which understandings of these terms are shared between project participants from differing sociocultural backgrounds. A conclusion synthesises findings and discusses implications for the project and biodiversity conservation in New Zealand.

Chapter nine, the thesis' conclusion, reviews, discusses, and synthesises key findings from each chapter whilst addressing the primary research questions at the heart of this endeavour. A discussion is included which addresses some central theoretical facets relative to the research's findings. Insights which emerged in the course of this research are also discussed. Lastly, further research opportunities are identified.

Style Note: Māori words and terms, not part of the English language, which are more or less familiar to New Zealand's society, are only italicised in their first appearance.

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List of Māori Language Terms

Aoraki the highest mountain in New Zealand, Mt. Cook, found on the South on Island

Aotearoa formerly a name used to denote the North Island of New Zealand, now used as the Māori name for all of New Zealand, which is glossed by some as 'long white cloud' or some variation of thereof using 'bright', 'tall', 'world' etc.

ariki a paramount or high chief or the first born in a high ranking family

atua a god or powerful supernatural being; also used to denote an ancestor with influence

awa a river, stream, or creek; water

haka any sort of vigorous posture dance and chant, usually performed in unison by a group; traditionally they were performed by warrior groups before battle and for special occasions

hapū an extended kinship group or clan, formerly the primary political unit in Maori society; the subtribe

harore a mushroom or generally mushrooms, often found in the forest and on trees from summer to autumn

hīkoi a march, trek or hike

hongi the act of pressing of noses and often the forehead together, whilst breathing in/smelling through the nose, which used as a gesture of formal greeting between two individuals

hui a gathering, meeting or assembly

hui a-iwi a meeting or assembly of a number of groups, be it subtribes or tribes, for a special purpose or to regularly address important matters

iwi a very large extended kinship group, usually a tribe, usually composed of a number of hapu, subtribes; explicitly it means "bone"

kāhui ariki the royal family of the Kīngitanga, customarily viewed as the descendants of Tāwhiao

kai food or a meal, or the act of eating

kai moana/kaimoana foodstuffs from the sea or water, such as fish, shellfish, sea urchins, eel etc.

kainga a traditional Maori village, habitation site

kaitiaki a guardian, caretaker, custodian or keeper

kaitiakitanga guardianship, protection or stewardship of the environment as part of a kin-based relationship seen to exist between humans and the natural world

kākāpō New Zealand's extremely rare, endemic, large, green, flightless parrot

kākā a large endemic forest parrot with dull olive-brown feathers

kākāriki an endemic yellow or red crowned parakeet having greenish-yellow feathers

karakia a ritual chant, incantation, or prayer, or the act of performing one

kareao a fruit-baring, high-climbing tough woody native vine, also known as supplejack, that flourishes in native forest understorey

kaumātua a male or female person of status with the whanau, often older in age, though this is not a requirement or qualifying condition; an elder

kavakava a plant of the Piperacaea family with a bitter, black peppercorn taste, often used by Māori anciently and presently for medicine and food

kererū New Zealand's endemic wood pigeon, a large pigeon with green, copper and white feathers; pigeon feathers

kingitanga the King movement. A movement primarily among some northern Māori tribes, which in the 1850s, installed and started the institution of Māori royalty and appointed a monarch in an effort to unify all Māori in the face of a growing and ever more powerful British military and settler presence, protect their culture, and stem the loss of land to colonists

kiwi any of the iconic flightless, tailless, long-beaked endemic birds of New Zealand

Kiwi a term or label that refers to people of New Zealand, though its use is contested relative to recent migrant groups

koha a gift or offering of food or money usually employed to build and/or maintain social relationships. They often are used to offset the burden hosts shoulder at hui or events, and thus now, more often consist of money.

kōkako a rare endemic wattle bird of limited flight capability with dark-bluish feathers that has haunting call

kōrero conversation, speech, discourse or discussion, usually in a group setting

korowai an woven cloak, often ornamented with feathers, usually esteemed as taonga, worn on ceremonial and/or special occasions

kōuka cabbage tree; a palm like tree whose inner leaves are often used as a traditional food

kōura freshwater crayfish usually found in waterways of native and exotic forests and pastoral waterways

Mana Whenua a group of people with customary authority over a traditionally held territory (a modern gloss of the phrase)

mana a supernatural force or power in a person, place or object, that traditionally is inherited, which comes from the atua, and provides authority, influence, status, spiritual power and/or charisma

manu a term for winged animals (e.g. birds, bats, and insects

marae a site in a tribe or subtribe's group's rohe that constitutes the social and cultural nexus to their lands and usually features a traditional meeting house and dining hall, that overall is the centre for social and cultural activities

maunga a mountain or peak

Maungatautari the largest local mountain close to the town of Cambridge in the Waikato region of New Zealand's North Island. Literally, it can mean 'mountain suspended above the mists/clouds'

mauri a vital life essence, or essential life principle, or quality or vitality of a being, entity or a physical object

mere a short, flat, light club weapon used in close quarters combat, usually made of stone, often of greenstone (pounamu); Some came to have names and prestige as taonga in connection with notable owners and their exploits

mokopuna a grandchild, or child considered a grandchild though offspring of other close kin, or a descendent

Ngāi a prefix used in conjunction with some tribal names, indicating a tribe

Ngāti a prefix use in conjunction with some tribal names, indicating a tribe
Ngāti Koroki Kahukura a subtribe of the Waikato-Tainui Tribe, associated with a rohe that spreads southwest of the Waikato River where it bends around the northeast flank of Maungatautari

pā in noun form, a fortified and defendable village or position, or the inhabitants of such a place

Pāke an idiomatic term used in place of Pākehā; or an adult

Pākehā a New Zealander of European descent, or generally, a foreigner or alien

pāua any one of a number of types of abalone molluscs, or sea ears, usually used for food and for their shells

pepeha a tribal or group saying or motto, slogan or figure of speech, characterised by its brevity and metaphor, and encapsulated values

pikopiko young fern shoots or fronds traditionally used for food by Māori

pīpīwharauroa a small, bronz-green endemic, migratory bird, also known as the shining cuckoo

pounamu semi-precious New Zealand greenstone sourced from the South Island, similar to jade and nephrite that is dark green in colour

pōwhiri to welcome, invite or beckon. Often this is the official rite by which uninitiated/new visitors are welcomed onto a marae and introduced to a Maori group in the marae's courtyard

rāhui to enact a temporary prohibition or ban on an area or resource for conservation and/or social/political control purposes, usually at the behest of rangatira (a chief or people of high social status) through karakia (prayer/incantation) by tohunga (priests)

rangatira of or being of high rank, or esteemed, a chief of a hapu or tribe

rangatiratanga chieftainship, chiefly authority, characteristics of a chief or one of noble birth; subsequent to Western religious and political influence, it also denotes the right to exercise authority, self-determination, or sovereignty

rohe a region of land or territory. Usually used in place of *rohe potae* which is land or an area associated with a hapu or iwi, usually as their homeland

rongoā (rongoa māori) traditional Māori medical treatment or remedy, often employing plants and materials from natural environments; the plants and materials used for a traditional remedy

takahē a flightless endemic bird the size of a small turkey with dark blue and greenish feathers, threatened with extinction; the South Island species remains, whilst the North Island version is now extinct

tangata whenua indigenous peoples; New Zealand Māori; people of the land, or more directly translated, people born of the placenta and of the land where their ancestors lived

taonga a prized treasure or valued possession which includes both objects and resources as well as ideas and techniques

Tāne/Taane the atua or god of the forests, trees and birds in traditional Māori mythology and lore, the son of Papatuanuku and Ranginui, earth mother and sky father

tangi/tangihanga a funeral or funeral rites for the dead, with specific protocols and high cultural significance, that it is a core social institution of Māori society

tapu prohibited, restricted, set apart, or to be designated as such, removed from the commons, forbidden, or under the protection of a god, an atua; it can apply to a person, place or thing; it can be considered a social control mechanism, as infraction of tapu would traditionally bring retribution, often death; some feel the notion of 'sacred' became connected to it after Christianity was introduced to Māori

Te Reo Māori the formal term for the Māori language

Te Tui a Tāne/Taane the 65 hectare sub-enclosure of the Maungatautari Eco-island project on the south side of the mountain; Mana Whenua directly glossed this as 'The forest of Tāne'

tikanga codes, rules, procedures and protocol steeped in tradition and tribal lore that are considered correct or proper for any given social situation, a customary set of practices and underlying values

tiriti a transliteration of "treaty"

Tiritiri Matangi a small island north of Auckland in the Hauraki Gulf that has been converted to an island nature preserve by volunteers

tono a request or invitation that produces an agreement; traditionally used to bring about a marriage between individuals of two different tribes, such that a new inter-group alliance was forged; an agreement between Mana Whenua and other tribal groups to obtain animals for translocation

tuna large eel, especially those that inhabit New Zealand's rivers and fresh water basins, that are dark olive green in colour; used as a source of food protein and relished by many Māori

tūpuna/tipuna an ancestor or grandparent

Tūrangawaewae a "footstool" or "a place to stand"; a place that elicits strong feelings of connectedness and empowerment, a place that centres or constitutes a foundation

urupā a burial ground, cemetery or gravesite, which are considered a sacred site and as such entail certain tapu associated with them

utu repay, revenge, balance, respond

waka a canoe, or a conveyance; a water trough; a receptacle box; the crew of a canoe; all the kinship groups descended from the crew of a colonising canoe; a group of birds

wāhi tapu a sacred place or site, usually subject to long term restrictions to use or access. Common examples include burial grounds, battle sites or locations where tapu objects were often located

waiata to sing, or a song or chant

wairua the immortal spirit or soul of a person, animate things, and/or possibly even inanimate things

wānanga a forum or conference for the purpose of discussion, deliberation, or education, often glossed as 'school'

watea to be free, clear, unoccupied

wētā wingless, large, cricket-like nocturnal insects unique to New Zealand

whakapapa genealogy, lineage, and descent information, with stories and lore of ancestors, which convey kinship connections and status, and the rights associated with them, and house socially-esteemed values and concepts

whakataukī a proverb or significant saying often employed in oratorical speech or the act of uttering such oratory

whānau a wide family grouping, beyond the nuclear family, which formerly was the basic economic unit of Māori society. It includes aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents, etc.

wharekai a dining hall on a marae

wharenui the meeting or large house of a marae, used for meetings, funerals, teaching and accommodating guests

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Content Note: The glosses and understandings of terms and concepts here derive from readings the author accessed as well as what participants related in interviews and discussion. Like other Polynesian languages, Te Reo Māori is a heavily context-based language, with deep meaning(s) that often connects to lore, tribal history and mythology.

See Lists of References for the full reference of sources utilised:

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List of Abbreviations

AFM	American Friends of Maungatautari
ANZAC	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
DoD	Department of Discovery (A Business, not a government department)
EW	Environment Waikato (A former designation for WRC, the Waikato Regional Council, sometimes also designated EW/WRC)
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
MAF	Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry
MEIT	Maungatautari Ecological Island Trust
MLC	Maungatautari Landowners Council
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding; in plural form: MoUs
MP	Member of Parliament
MRP	Mighty River Power
OTM	Over the Mountain Track
OTS	Office of Treaty Settlements
QEII	Queen Elizabeth II National Trust
RMA	Resource Management Act
RNZAF	Royal New Zealand Air Force
TDR	Transfer of Development Rights
WDC	Waipa District Council
WINTEC	Waikato Institute of Technology
WRC	Waikato Regional Council / Environment Waikato
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

List of Figures and Tables

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

What role is culture playing in New Zealand's multi-stakeholder, community-based, Sanctuary Mountain Maungatautari biodiversity conservation project? More exactly, within New Zealand's post-colonial society and amid nebulous discourse and policy espousing biculturalism, in what ways has the sociocultural heterogeneity of the Maungatautari project's shareholders, stakeholders and participants affected their efforts to partner and manage the Sanctuary Mountain Maungatautari project? And, in what ways has the project been affected by their efforts to navigate sociocultural difference in relation to the disparate beliefs, values, protocol and practices they possess associated with their sociocultural backgrounds?

The research questions outlined here centre on the concept of culture, a concept that in the academy is most associated with, and lies at the core of, anthropology. In approaching the community project anthropologically, culture, or the evidence and elements of it, including beliefs, values, concepts, traditions, practices, and components of language and communication, are seen to be behind, within, expressed and deployed in multi-stakeholder exchanges in and through project developments. Alternatively, or at another level, 'culture' can be utilized as an explanatory tool for the political clashes between project stakeholders. In this sense, defining aspects of culture, that are seen as boundary markers to a culture, are deliberately brought into or made a part of the project's politics by one party or another to serve some aim. Either way, disentangling the role of culture would highlight the part culture plays and to what degree individuals and groups in the project realise it. Further, it subsequently provides additional material for an analysis of inter-cultural communication and understanding between those groups who come together to conduct the project.

Examining these core research questions and issues is important for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the attainment of greater inter-community understanding and harmony and/or the chance for more successful community-based conservation projects. Over the last decade and more a number of studies examining similarly configured projects have concluded that the sociocultural heterogeneity of shareholders, stakeholders and participants of environmental partnerships can lead to dissonance, disempower, or erode participation and partnership, daunt project goals, and even risk wildlife, resources, and a project's very existence (see Berkes et al. 2000:1252; Brockington, Duffy and Igoe 2008:104,106-111; Einarsson 1993:75,81; Harms 2008:45-50; Kottak 1999:26; Nygren

2003:33-34,39-40,44-47; Poncelet 2004:xv,8,63; Riley n.d.:2,11). One researcher related it most clearly after examining a number of projects in Europe and the United States. Somewhat surprisingly, he found that the critical challenge participants faced in overcoming local, shared environmental problems was not in the areas of funding or technology, but rather in the relations and partnership attempts of stakeholders who come from differing sociocultural backgrounds. The primary impediment was located squarely at the intersection of multi-stakeholder communication and cooperation, and the practical coordination and integration of the disparate perspectives and ecological approaches the participants brought with them relative to their cultural backgrounds (Poncelet 2004:xv,8).

Consequently, it is important to critically examine, analyse and learn from culturally-heterogeneous multi-stakeholder environmental partnerships, and especially those that attempt to operate in bi- or multi-cultural societies or areas. Sanctuary Mountain Maungatautari, formerly known as the Maungatautari Ecological Island project, is one such project. Given it's also the largest project of its kind in the world— with 3,400 forest hectares enclosed and protected by a record setting 47km pest-proof fence— failure, regardless of the reason, would be detrimental to New Zealand's conservation estate and strike a blow to the confidence placed in the community-based, multi-stakeholder environmental partnership model. The project is managed by a non-profit trust composed of stakeholder and shareholder groups of New Zealand's Polynesian Māori and other New Zealanders whose ancestry is primarily European. Accordingly, the heterogeneity of project participants has the real potential to produce inter-stakeholder dissonance and affect the project in one way of another.

The Project, the Land, the People

Sanctuary Mountain Maungatautari, as a mainland based biodiversity conservation project on New Zealand's North Island, has the goal to protect in perpetuity many of New Zealand's unique, threatened, endemic species. Human wrought landscape change and the introduction of non-native animals in New Zealand has caused numerous endemic extinctions in New Zealand and risks the spectre of many more. The primary effort in the project has been to remove all mammalian and marsupial pests (e.g. rats, stoats, goats, pigs, possums, etc.) on Maungatautari, a small, forested mountain south of Hamilton near Cambridge. This effort makes it possible for the mountain's otherwise intact forests to receive, and again sustain, many of the country's threatened endemic and indigenous biota in an environment free from non-native pests and predators. The encircling fence is a critical element because poison bait routines and trapping only temporary eliminate pests and predators. To achieve

more permanence, the project employs a locally-developed, pest-proof fence that in circling the mountain creates an ecological 'island' of it at its forest tree line. The design of the fence prevents pests from burrowing under, passing through, jumping, or climbing over the fence to get back onto the mountain. Once two proof-of-concept sub-enclosures were completed in 2005 and subsequently proven effective, the entire mountain was fully enclosed in 2006. Thereafter most pests were eradicated all across the mountain. Endemic species like the iconic terrestrial kiwi bird, the kākā, a large forest parrot, and the remarkable tuatara reptile were reintroduced to the mountain's forests and now thrive there. This fortress conservation strategy mimics a successful one deployed on some of New Zealand's small offshore islands, where the ocean acts as the physical barrier.

The site of the project is Maungatautari, a low, forest-covered, mountain or *maunga* in the heart of the dairy-intensive Waikato Region of New Zealand's North Island. It is located roughly 186km south of Auckland and 15km from the small town of Cambridge, just south of the Karapiro Lake section of the Waikato River. Prehistorically, and into historic times, various Māori tribes lived on and around the mountain. Some members of the Ngāti Koroki Kahukura subtribe still live on its slopes and maintain two *marae*, a sacred space with a traditional meeting house that is the locus of their cultural and social connectedness to one another and their lands. During British settler expansion the rugged upper slopes of Maungatautari were never cleared and converted into pasture land like much of the region was. Its thick forest remained and only its lower slopes were transformed into pasture land. Presently, farms, long ago developed for livestock, and those used now for dairying purposes, encircle the maunga creating a stark, lower forest tree line. The project's fence predominantly sits just below this forest tree line at the edge of farmed pasture land.

An important aspect of this project to remember is that the land incorporated into it is not uniformly owned or controlled by any one entity. Hence, there are a number of stake and shareholders. Overall, Maungatautari is owned in parts, with three types of ownership categories represented: government; shared multi-owner titles; and freehold. The largest owner of land on Maungatautari is the Crown, or New Zealand's Government, statutorily represented by the local Waipa District Council (WDC). Though a significant portion of land on Maungatautari was recognised as a reserve from 1912, the passage of the (1977) Reserves Act formally designated the government's land on the mountain as a Crown Scenic Reserve. This scenic reserve land has grown in more recent times as some adjoining farmers donated or sold unused land to the government. As of December 2007, the total amount of land in the reserve was 2,542 hectares. The next largest portion of Maungatautari, approximately 586

hectares, is Māori block land. These hectares have multiple Māori owners who inherited the land through family lines. Thus, with each generation, the blocks automatically gain additional owners (stewards in a sense), though recipient names are not automatically added to the titles. The remaining 102 hectares are freehold titled land blocks. All these three types of hectares in the project total 3,230ha. However, additional adjoining freehold land is incorporated into the project. Some pasture or other farm land, which fell behind the project's fence when it was not feasible to follow strict property lines, was brought into the project adding additional hectares. Some adjoining landowners also provided additional and ecologically valuable hectares, such as wetlands, which brought the total land area of the project to approximately 3,400ha.

Whilst on the subject of land ownership and the project, it is important to note that the 'ownership' provenance of Maungatautari's hectares is debated and a little murky in some areas. Originally, all of the region and area was under local Māori control. A great deal of land north and west of Maungatautari was confiscated from them following the New Zealand Land Wars in the early 1860s. Thereafter, more confiscations, laws and unethical manoeuvres resulted in lands sales and dispossessions which left local tribes without much of their land on the maunga and across the region. Some, citing certain documents, assert local Māori sold much of Maungatautari to a timber company. Whatever the case may be, a significant portion of land on Maungatautari was eventually, by law, owned by settlers and the Maungatautari Land Company, discovered to be ill-suited for farming, and subsequently sold to the Crown in the early 1900s. These hectares form the bulk of what became the Maungatautari Crown Scenic Reserve.

Returning to the project, the Maungatautari ecological island project formally began in August of 2001 with the official formation of the non-profit Maungatautari Ecological Island Trust (MEIT) and the filing of its principal deed. It founding trustees represented the Department of Conservation (DOC), adjoining landowner farmers, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura, the principal subtribe connected to the mountain, and the wider community. However, the deed stipulated that the fully formed Trust board could have up to sixteen trustees but no fewer than ten. The first four were to be from local, district, regional and national government agencies or bodies. Four more were to be appointed by local Māori. The final four were to represent adjoining landowner farmers. Up to four more additional trustees could be nominated and appointed by the Trust as necessary. Over the following few years some slight changes were made to the deed. In 2001 the requirement for the Waikato Regional Council to provide a trustee was removed at their request, and in 2006 the number of local Māori and

adjoining landowners trustees was increased from four to five and the name for "Additional Trustees" was changed to "Community Trustees" (MEIT Deed of Variation: 2001; 2006). More significant changes were made to the deed late in 2011 after some years of turmoil in the community, Trust and project. Individuals in the wider community and stakeholder groups of the project had taken differing stances in relation to a treaty redress case Ngāti Koroki Kahukura had laid before the government which also concerned ownership and stewardship of Maungatautari and former subtribe lands in the area. Further, as this had the potential to empower local Māori in relation to their position in the Trust, there was long and deep debate on what constituted a proper 'stakeholder' group of the mountain and/or the project.

Uncertainty and debate on the nature of being a stake or shareholder is possible because there are multiple ways in which people can and do connect to the mountain. Further, the manner in which they connect to the project can also vary from the manner in which they connect to the mountain. Thus, some discussion is needed in relation to the variegated ways people connect to the mountain and/or the project. The deeds, as just reviewed, indicate three linkage categories by which people connect which are not mutually exclusive: public, legal, and cultural. Because the local government (WDC) had the legal statutory responsibility over the Crown Scenic Reserve land on the maunga, they and DOC minimally constitute legal shareholders of both the maunga and the project sited there. The local Māori groups, and adjoining landowner farmers, all either own land in the project or on the maunga and/or have land on which the project fence sits or adjoins. Their lives and livelihoods often depend on and are influenced by the maunga. Their land ownership, identities, lived experience, family history and stories, conceptualisations of land stewardship and their identity, and more directly in the case of the farmers through the livelihoods they derive on its slopes, all connect to the maunga and are also tied to, and affected by, the project. It could be reasonably argued then that both local Māori and adjoining landowner farmers connect to the mountain and the project in the legal and cultural categories. Given land they have in the project is owned by them, it is clear they constitute direct shareholders.

The public category is represented by additional or community trustees who stand in for the wider community and the hundreds of volunteers who carry out the bulk of the work in the maunga project. Because they do not directly and legally own land in the project or on the maunga, they cannot be considered, ipso facto, shareholders. They could be categorised as stakeholders or secondary stakeholders because of their interest in the project, its ecological aims for the maunga and district , and what it will do for New Zealand's larger

biodiversity/conservation estate. However, one could argue that local and national government represents their interests in the project, and these entities certainly do contribute tax and ratepayer dollars they collect from the public to the project. Further, they do, like any member of the public, have the right to traverse and enjoy the mountain within publicly recognised stipulations. Some have expressed the idea that they collectively own the majority of the land in the project, referencing the Crown Scenic Reserve land as pubic land, which in their view makes its all of New Zealand's and hence theirs as well. In 2011 heated community debate and discourse on the connection or status of each individual or group in relation to the mountain and/or the project ended with all involved parties reluctantly agreeing that local Māori and adjoining landowner farmers were the project's primary or core "stakeholders" along with WDC and the Crown, thereby relegating all else to what could be called a "secondary stakeholder" status.

Interestingly, in all my interactions with members of the local Māori groups, each called a *hapū* (a subtribe, extended kinship group or clan), or with any of the adjoining landowner farmers or anyone in the community or involved with the project, never was the term 'shareholder' mentioned. The term always used was 'stakeholder'. In the fore mentioned public debate, 'stakeholder' was used by everyone to describe both those who owned land in, or affected by, the project, as well as those who simply lived in the wider community and had an interest in it, donated money to it, or provided time and/or expertise to the project in some manner. Due to this fact, in this thesis I only ever employ the term 'stakeholder' and like many I interacted with, I label all those owning land on the maunga in the project or which have the project's land abutting their property, a core or primary stakeholder group, and include in this the local and central governing authorities/bodies. All else then can be considered secondary stakeholders.

New Zealand Society and Biculturalism

In the process of becoming familiar with New Zealand's society and sociocultural configuration one aspect recurrently surfaced that was especially interesting: the notion or discourse of 'biculturalism'. With the mid-1970s Māori cultural revitalisation, New Zealand's wider society began to acknowledge that the country had repeatedly breached its 1840 Treaty of Waitangi obligations to Māori peoples (Brynes 2004:3). This awareness or at least sympathetic acknowledgement of it, gained traction in 1975 when a few key people in the right place at the right time enabled the passage of legislation that significantly altered New Zealand's political and legal landscape (Smith 2005:228-229). Most important among these

laws was the passage of the (1975) Treaty of Waitangi Act. It and subsequent legislation associated with it brought legal means for Māori to seek redress from New Zealand's government in connection with historic breaches against the Treaty in relation to land ownership, natural resources and Māori self-determination. These developments amidst growing public awareness and pressure from *Tangata Whenua* (people of the land, i.e. Māori), signalled a broad willingness in the government to listen to Māori and better protect their rights and interests in the future as well.

In wider discourse, debate and research of the time, with much of it heavily coming to bear on the Treaty itself and the Crown's apparent breaches against Māori and their interests, discourse emerged that pushed the idea that the Treaty's authors and signatories had benevolently intended the Treaty to be the foundation of their society and county; they had designed it to combine their two peoples and create the formal nation-state of New Zealand (Alves 1999:64-66; Goldsmith 2005:66; see Byrnes 2006). Following the 1975 Treaty Act, and subsequent legislation connected to it, it was asserted that the Treaty contained principles that should have been guiding the interaction between New Zealand's principal peoples, and which should guide them in the future. In their most basic forms these principles are partnership between the Crown and Māori, rangatiratanga or rights for Māori self-determination and active protection of Māori rights, culture and interests (Durie 1998: 28-29; Walker 2994:268). Through the extraordinary efforts of certain individuals these principles were thereafter included in government initiatives, law, and policy. The specific effort by the government to officially, and with more than mere political correctness, persuade New Zealand's wider society to recognise Māori cultural distinctiveness and rights, came to centre on the notion that New Zealand was in fact a bicultural nation. Further, discourse, rhetoric, and/or ideology in the term coalesced and evolved into the policy or mantra of 'biculturalism'. In the form of official government policy 'biculturalism' became a compulsory socio-political approach for every government agency, department, office and public service agency. It requires government employees acting for and in behalf of the government to recognise, account for, and embrace Māori cultural needs and *tikanga* (protocol). These efforts and measures are seen to help establish and realise New Zealand's "inherent" bicultural condition, which put another way, constitutes are effort to swing the pendulum away from the otherwise dominant monocultural sociocultural condition. This could be construed as an official effort to move toward a decolonised New Zealand society and state, or in other words, retard, reverse and/or erase the sociocultural and material effects of the colonial enterprise. However, one can point out that the government's top down

attempt at doing so could be viewed as yet another colonial act. It could be construed as mere tokenism or an act to placate or appease those pressing for broad Māori recognition and rights.

Whatever the case may be, the term 'bicultural' or biculturalism is important to the Maungatautari project and this research in a number of ways. As mentioned above, discourse and policy pushes the idea that New Zealand as a society *is* bicultural. Due to the concept's unique and modern connection to the Treaty and related legal acts, including the (1991) Resource Management Act, and the term's official and reified status within the government via policy requirements, it is connected to Māori Treaty settlement claims and rights issues, land and resource use, and governmental roles and responsibilities. Accordingly, it extends to the project and its conservation and the multi-stakeholder relationship within MEIT. It influences and guides how the government and all other parties should or are expected to work with Māori in the form of a share or stakeholder group. This was on the minds of those behind the creation of MEIT.

An examination of MEIT's principal deed indicates that the Trust was aware of the principles seen to be inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi and had decided to institutionally recognise and pursue them (MEIT Deed 2001:3.2). Further, the structure of MEIT and its apparatuses seemed to be either calibrated toward, or at least amenable to, the production a equal and inclusive partnership among its core stakeholders, which could enable those from both of New Zealand's primary core sociocultural groups to create a bicultural atmosphere. Given the prevalent status of 'biculturalism' and its linkages with the Treaty, Treaty principles, Treaty settlements, and land and resource law, as well as its status in governmental circles, and the myriad ways it links to the project and its share and stakeholders, it is clear that assessing the interaction between the project's participants in terms of 'biculturalism' seems logical and quite directly connected to the goal of examining the role of culture within MEIT and its project.

In making preparations to commence research, it seemed that outwardly, both primary stakeholder groups were unitedly focused on restoring New Zealand's rare and threatened endemic biodiversity to Maungatautari for indefinite protection. It was theorised that MEIT's stakeholder groups likely had, and were regularly, experiencing instances of inter-cultural dissonance common to situations where people and groups with dissimilar homogenous sociocultural backgrounds intensively interact and work together. However, it seemed that due to the biodiversity successes achieved in the project, MEIT stakeholders had, to some degree, found a way to successfully navigate these challenges and create a working bicultural

multi-stakeholder Trust partnership. Even so, it was calculated that differences of a sociocultural nature related to beliefs, values, and practices were affecting stakeholder efforts, their interaction, and hence their project goals and the project itself.

Further it was allowed that stakeholder roles, goals, and multi-stakeholder interaction were being influenced by the respective relationships stakeholder groups had to the mountain and New Zealand's biota. For instance, *Mana Whenua* (people of, and having control over, certain land, i.e. local Māori), consider Maungatautari a revered site. Ancestors lived there. Many are buried there at *urupā* (graveyard sites). The stories of ancestors on the maunga are remembered and circulated as whakapapa (ancestor genealogy and lore). The mountain and sacred sites there are linked to, and are imbued with, tribal history. Their marae are there. Many grew up exploring its forests and utilising sources of food and medicine there. Collectively, these linkages also make the mountain a physical referent of their subtribe identity and homeland.

For many other local New Zealanders who are not Māori, its lower slopes are also home. It is a place where many grew up, and/or where they enjoyed its forests as an extension of their rear section, and for those who farm there, connect to it by means of the living they make there. For members of each group, the mountain is now also viewed as a site uniquely positioned to preserve treasured endemic biota. Given the multiple ways any individual or group connects to the maunga and/or the project, I calculated that if inter-cultural dissonance was present between project stakeholders, then somehow, they had found a way to effectively navigate and prevent it from adversely affecting the project. Perhaps they were removing their Mana Whenua and adjoining landowner farmer 'hats' and were, in order to come to an agreement on an certain aspect, donning conservation 'hats'. Or perhaps the two "hats' are really one in their minds? Perhaps they jointly built elegant solutions that simultaneously met each other's needs as well as those of the project. Whatever the case may be, the Trust and its project, I concluded, was more than a suitable subject to study the role of culture in relation to New Zealand's nuanced and heterogeneous sociocultural milieu, prevalent discourse of a unique biculturalism, and multi-stakeholder community-based biodiversity conservation.

New Zealand Biculturalism

Some concise discussion of biculturalism in a New Zealand context is presently apropos for a number of reasons. Modern Treaty law, and government policy in relation to it, reaches every facet of New Zealand life and society. These laws and policies link the Treaty to the government's Treaty responsibilities vis-à-vis adherence to the principles of the Treaty.

and the creation and maintenance of a certain type of interrelationship between the government and New Zealand's greater society with all of the country's Māori, or Tangata Whenua (Goldsmith 2003a:285). All of this is connected to, embedded and reified by discourse which upholds biculturalism as the modality through which this caring, inclusive interrelationship is to be generated. Considering the importance and impactful nature of modern Treaty law, Māori claims for breaches against the Treaty which can and do impact all New Zealanders, and the evident desire held by the nascent MEIT to create an inclusive multi-stakeholder partnership, a discussion on 'biculturalism' is more than warranted (Note: full discussion of the concept composes chapter 3).

At the outset it is critical to acknowledge that in the New Zealand context there are variegated understandings and interpretations of 'biculturalism' and uncertainty in relation to how it should look in practice or be accomplished. To be frank, an examination of all that exists on 'biculturalism' reveals it as a messy, contested, debated, and nebulous concept; it is highly political and tied to issues of identity, representation, self-determination and the ongoing navigation of differing colonial histories and experiences among New Zealand's core founding peoples (Barclay and Liu 2003:1-2; Goldsmith 2003b:9; Spoonley et al. 1984:15). A general dictionary definition of the adjective 'bicultural', which describes it as the combination of cultural ideas, values, attitudes and customs of two peoples or ethnic groups, is instructive but ultimately reductive compared to the droves of discourse and material written about it. In the form of a noun, 'Biculturalism' can be thought of as the state of being bicultural and/or the collective act of pursuing it. Both forms of the term, as ideology, discourse and/or rhetoric, seek to gain support for and/or achieve biculturalism or goals associated with it.

Official New Zealand government policy, which advocates for its implementation, proclaims biculturalism as a "fundamental characteristic" of New Zealand's heritage and identity (Božić-Vrbančić 2003:295; see www.govt.nz). Somewhat confusingly, a government motto of a sort, which seemingly attempts to provide societal direction, engender a national identity and support bicultural efforts, states: "We are One nation, two peoples and many cultures". This statement, at least to me, immediately conveys a sense of the quixotic. First, it allows for the existence of many cultures but yet only two peoples in New Zealand's society. This state or condition is not compatible with the most elemental idea of biculturalism, which is the combination of *two* cultures or groups of people. Does this motto mean to say that other New Zealanders, who are not Māori and who do not identify as Pākehā (or European New Zealanders), and whose background links to places other than Europe, have to subscribe to

the only two cultures or people groups that officially are seen to exist, or a hybrid of them? Do they then need to jettison whatever sociocultural background they were raised in, possess and/or bring with them? Thus, an examination of elemental or official notions of New Zealand 'biculturalism' is a harbinger of the confusion, or indeterminateness, which discursively surrounds the term in New Zealand.

Not surprisingly, many scholarly endeavours have focused on distilling what biculturalism means for New Zealand and its peoples. Among them Barclay and Liu (2003:1-2) present an interesting discussion of it as they examine representations of 'bicultural' in New Zealand media and print. In New Zealand, the 'bicultural' exists, they assert, in a particular social and political terrain. This terrain is generally acknowledged as "encompassing the diverse out-workings of partnership between those identifying as Maori, the Crown, and others in society as expressed in contemporary and historical interpretations of the Treaty of Waitangi". Goldsmith (2003a:285) agrees with this assessment, but more simply states that New Zealand biculturalism is focused on the Māori–Pākehā relationship vis-à-vis the Treaty of Waitangi. These relational out-workings of partnership on one hand pertain to Māori struggles for redress concerning historical Treaty breaches in relation to land settlement and ownership, their people's exercise of rights and claims to autonomy. On the other hand it pertains to the right to settle and achieve belongingness for all non-Māori and the broader citizenship rights and responsibilities all New Zealanders share.

However, Barclay and Liu maintain that this is where biculturalism starts: it goes beyond this. They see it extending to include wider inter-cultural relations that are the products of a lived and sensed interconnectedness that has developed "across and within diverse Maori and non-Maori populations". Accordingly, biculturalism for them "does not necessarily represent a bifurcation or separateness, either present or historical, between Maori and non-Maori". Additionally, it is more than just the negotiations the parties participate in as they address Treaty issues, breaches and rights. Rather, it is an interconnectedness born of common, shared experience that is and can be generated between New Zealand's peoples regardless of the sociocultural background they come from or identify with.

In continuing their discussion, Barclay and Liu raise a complication others have observed. Longstanding intermarriage in New Zealand blurs the boundaries between 'Māori' and 'non-Māori' or 'Pākehā' (Walker 2004:389). It should be noted here that alignment to any category is about more than mere family ancestry. Even so, the boundaries between the categories have shifted and blurred, and to such an extent Barclay and Liu note, that on this basis Ranginui Walker argued that not only are the categories far from separate, but actually

constitute each another. In other words, each category can no longer exist in New Zealand without the other. Thus, they conceptualise biculturalism as a relationship that is created through "varying formations of agreement and disparity, of unity and separateness". It is achieved in the act of the its peoples coming together, discussing issues and making a decision to agree, or on to not agree, and/or their acknowledgement of unity on any matter, or the lack thereof.

Note that this understanding of biculturalism does not need or rely on any definition or conception of culture, or the reification of any discrete cultural group. These formations then are often implicit and are firmly located in social arena. They are constantly being produced and reproduced through "various contested and negotiated discourses and practices", which simultaneously, and likely irreducibly, constitute relations of power. In this vein, biculturalism is both the arena for, and the production of, social relations of power in relation to contestations of unity and separateness, and the efforts exerted to negotiate tensions amidst recognitions of an 'us' and an 'other'.

Another facet to this discussion of biculturalism was in a way introduced by Walker above. Not only is the line between Māori and non-Māori blurred, but any conceptualisation of these as distinct and unified groups or peoples, whether in the past or the present, is misleading. Māori were never a unified whole or a *one*, and neither were Pākehā. Māori prehistorically and historically were composed of many tribes and subtribes. These tribal and subtribe groups have evolved, and in one form or another, exist in the present. Ngāti Koroki Kahukura is one example. It is a subtribe that more recently came into existence, yet it is a combination of the former Koroki and Kahukura subtribes. Pākehā are the descendants of British and European settlers and recent arrivals. These settlers were not from any single, unified, cultural or ethnic group or country. They are often called or labelled simply as "Pākehā" because they are, at the least, New Zealanders with a European background and ancestry, and/or they are New Zealanders with a background that is not primarily Māori. A good deal of New Zealand bicultural discourse and rhetoric nevertheless stresses the shared history of each grouping in New Zealand and the creation of a unique antipodean society (King 2003:513; Walker 2004:389). In doing so, some of it tends to discount or obfuscate the widely differing experiences they each had under the colonial enterprise and attempts to sanitise New Zealand history.

Given that for most New Zealanders theirs has been a monocultural existence (Goldsmith 2003a:285), the 1970s Māori cultural revitalisation and its effects largely produced a mental disjuncture for Pākehā. It challenged the rather uniform and unarticulated identity they overlaid on themselves and Māori. However, their search for identity is a fraught one which further complicates attempts at biculturalism. Popular forays latched onto political nationalism and connection to land and views toward the environmental (Matthews 1999:98-101; Bell 1996:5). However, Goldsmith (2003b) perceptively uncovered some issues from the undercurrent of New Zealand societal thought that evinces the difficulty many Pākehā face in arriving at any certain, durable identity formation. In looking at the then newly opened New Zealand National Museum, Te Papa, many observers recognised that portrayals of Māori culture and art in the then newly opened museum were reverential. On the other hand, Pākehā culture and accoutrements as arranged and presented in the exhibit seemed haphazard, disrespectful, and discombobulated. Goldsmith recognised that the exhibit's layout mimics wider New Zealand societal thought which considers Māori to be the recipients and holders of an ancient spirituality, marked by a deep connection to land. Hence they are viewed as the 'sacred'. Pākehā, with their materialistic focus and approach to life, rife with attachments to technology, are seen to be lacking this or any other 'natural' spirituality and thus constitute the 'profane'. The Pākehā side of this dualism, as it is perceived, counters popular efforts to coagulate any well-defined, Pākehā identity.

Further, Goldsmith asserts the discombobulation presented in the Pākehā side of the exhibit and its lack of 'significant' items illustrates another facet that complicates the bicultural endeavour: Pākehā culture is unmarked. It has little in the way of outward signs, products and performances that unify or readily identify it, especially when juxtaposed to Māori culture with its canoes, carvings, marae, tattoos, dances, chants, tribal affiliations and more (Goldsmith 2003b:6-7). The seemingly haphazard arrangement of European paintings, an old refrigerator, stories of immigrant settles, implements of modern technology and more did little to solidify or project a unified identity or produce a core referent for one. This unmarked state of Pākehā culture can inhibit efforts at biculturalism, whether the biculturalism is being configured as a mosaic, wherein various cultural aspects are included in some sort of arrangement, or as a synthesis, where a blending or hybridisation is the intent. When Pākehā lack a distinct sense of identity or what outward elements of their culture could be brought into the bicultural mix, or which stand opposite Māori cultural aspects, efforts at creating the mosaic or blend are hampered. One thing seems certain though given that Māori remain the colonised minority in the country: the biculturalism pursued amid the country's

postcolonial efforts will preclude equal treatment of the two sides of the bicultural coin (Goldsmith 2003b:12). "Biculturalism always carries moral and symbolic inflections that are differently weighted for the component halves". This complicates the enterprise even further.

Senka Božić-Vrbančić (2003:295), who also uses Te Papa's exhibition as a springboard to critically examine identity contestations in New Zealand via the Croatian immigrant experience, explains that biculturalism is a national imaginary, built or founded on the recognition of the historical interaction of the country's indigenous peoples and the settler population. This is the common-sense understanding of the term we are informed. In contrast to it, the government's stance and its motto as indicated above constitute a celebration of cultural diversity. Understood either way, the idea and discursive power of 'biculturalism' in New Zealand lies in its ability to (re)define national imaginaries and histories (from which it also gains credibility) and anchors, fixes, or ties them all together (2003:301). It is an idea that tries to find a place for all that differs, especially after the paradigm shattering ideas and realisations associated with Māori cultural revitalisation and rights efforts of the 1970s and 1980s that eroded the former sense of a *One* held by most in the society.

This is only a sampling of what is written and discussed in relation to 'biculturalism' in New Zealand. The views these and others expresses do evince the existence of a common conceptual ground. Yet, we can ascertain that many place it in slightly different terrains. Still others may see it only as a policy approach, or socioeconomic relations, or the discrete actions of the individual. However, it is most certainly a dialectic that those concerned with the country and society's relationship with Māori vis-à-vis the Treaty actively engage in and contribute to in an effort to achieve dominance. Accordingly, it exists more prevalently as policy, ideology, scholarly inquiry, and discourse. It is very much about power as much as identity and cultural distinctiveness and inclusion. Due to its dynamic, contested nature, and the variegated understandings of it, it is also incumbent on those discussing it to qualify it use and agree on what exactly they are talking about.

New Zealand Culture and Conservation

In New Zealand, especially in its rural and semi-rural areas, community-based conservation always has the potential to involve both local Māori and Pākehā stakeholders. As such, a productive bicultural partnership between them, wherein disparate perspectives are valued and integrated, would reasonably be seen as a key ingredient to creating and sustaining healthy and productive multi-stakeholder environmental partnership. However, despite a shared history spanning more than 170 years, inter-cultural understanding and

cooperation between the New Zealand nation-state's two founding peoples has not been widely or continuously achieved. Throughout her career New Zealand anthropologist Joan Metge has voiced concern at the persistence of inter-cultural miscommunication and cultural dissonance in New Zealand. A major impediment to actual inter-cultural communication has been that too often Māori and Pākehā 'talk past each other'— that is, in exchanges and interactions they fail to recognise that true communication, with mutual understanding, is not occurring (see Metge 2001; Metge and Kinloch 1978). In hopes of facilitating more constructive interaction between them, Metge produced culturally-informed situation-specific solutions (see Metge 2001; Metge and Kinloch 1978).

Others not in the domain of anthropology have for their own reasons called for greater partnership and inter-cultural communication among New Zealand's core sociocultural groups, especially when it concerns environmental issues and biodiversity. Their 'calls' stem from a number of interrelated facts, though two are sufficient for the present discussion. First, New Zealand is a globally-significant biodiversity "hotspot" (Warne 2002:75). The archipelago boasts a high endemism rate relative to other places around the globe. It came to support a wide array of peculiar, "living fossils"— species that have existed nowhere else in the world, with some having changed little over millions of years (Warne 2002:75,83,86,94). Second, despite recognition of this fact and progressive programmes to preserve at-risk biota, endemic species populations in New Zealand have declined significantly and continue to do so at alarming rates. The iconic terrestrial kiwi bird for example, has experienced a 30 percent population drop over the last twenty-five years, reaching an estimated low of 70,000 birds when they once numbered in the tens of millions (Craig et al. 2000:61; Little 2014:1; Warne 2002:83,86,94; Young 2004:211). More widely, of New Zealand's flightless bird species, forty percent have gone extinct post human colonisation in conjunction with a decrease of forest cover from seventy-eight percent to thirty percent of the country's land (Young 2004:229).

Recognising New Zealand's ongoing trend of biodiversity loss despite decades of effort to slow or reverse it, a research team concluded that human social and economic activities are the primary contributors to the problem (Craig et al. 2000:72). To counter the effects of such activities, they proposed a multifaceted solution. Two major prongs of their solution, related to these socially-derived causes, are: a) the creation of community- or regional-based partnerships which utilise trusted science along with ecological knowledge that both local Māori other New Zealanders can provide, in sustainably managed initiatives which restore and conserve endemic biota along with the functional ecosystems they require;

and b) formulating efforts to foster an integration of the "protected and the productive components of the landscape" effectively overcoming a primarily law-focused approach to protectionism (Craig et al. 2000:61-62,65-66,70-72). The call they make for Māori inclusion and partnership echoes a pre-existing and general call within sociocultural and environmental anthropology circles for the inclusion of local and indigenous peoples and their knowledge in the creation of more holistic biodiversity conservation initiatives (Berkes et al. 2000: 1251,1254-1256,1259-1260; Orlove and Brush 1996:333-337).

These calls from within anthropology commonly call for formal partnerships among those who share a direct stake in the resource to be protected and/or managed and a common overarching goal. These partnerships are often known as a multi-stakeholder environmental partnership or MEP (Poncelet 2004:xv,xxi,1-2). Formally, an MEP can be defined as a voluntary collaboration between representatives from local, regional and/or central government and/or businesses, or nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), and, I would add, elements or groups from the wider community, which collectively focus on addressing a shared environmental concern (Poncelet 2004:xxi). Such partnerships feature a few defining features. They usually aim for consensus decision-making, maintain a focus on a larger common goal and both produce and implement the decisions they make (Poncelet 2004:xxi). The Maungatautari Ecological Island Trust fits this model per its deed stipulations.

Examining Culture

This research, focused on studying the role of culture in the Maungatautari project, explores the ways the shared meanings and practices of those belonging to the sociocultural groups participating in the project affects their collaborative efforts in the Maungatautari project and the project itself. Because anthropology is not the sole discipline or purveyor which employs the term 'culture', its use here needs to be qualified, its meaning defined. This is needed for a number of reasons. Often 'culture' is spoken of or discussed in inexact and/or colloquial ways. People talk of a 'corporate' or 'work culture', referring perhaps to a set of guidelines, ethics and standards which guide and/or are intended to develop normative behaviour and thought in a work environment. 'Culture' is also commonly used euphemistically for 'race' or even nationality. Given the myriad ways and venues in which the term is deployed, 'culture' is consequently fetishised now more than perhaps at any previous time (Jackson 1999:4).

Within anthropology, the understanding of culture I subscribe to recognises and connects, or at least acknowledges a connection between, two sub-elements, called nonmaterial and material culture. In other words, I understand culture to be composed of both ideational and adaptational elements. In explaining this, let me first present what I feel is a heuristic and elementary definition of culture: culture is the knowledge an individual must know to act effectively in the environment around them (Townsend 2009:18). In this gloss, 'environment' includes or is meant to convey both the natural and social components which at any given time surround an individual. 'Effectively' in this gloss denotes success in meeting culturally-defined goals which at the least mutually meet physical needs imposed by biology and the cultural evolutionary systems any individual human is a part of (Hunn 1989:145). In other words, the effectiveness of any bit of knowledge is judged by the standards of the culture in conjunction with the understanding that the knowledge should help an individual survive and thrive both biologically and socially. Another definition of culture resonates for me and is equally instructive: culture is everything people think, do, and have as members of a social group (Ferraro 1998:18). This gloss refers to culture as the shared knowledge held by a group of people, including ideas, values and attitudes, the behaviour of individuals which form patterns, and the material possessions they normally possess and/or fashion. This gloss stresses the idea that culture is shared amongst a group of individuals. Importantly, this means that anything to be considered 'cultural' has a meaning which is shared by two or more people. This is most often found in the shared meaning attached to ideas, behind behaviour, and attached to material objects (Ferraro 1998:18).

In discussing what culture is, it is important to not overlook the role of the individual. Each individual is the bearer and creative user of culture (Hunn 1989:144) making it possible to invent new cultural aspects and meanings and pass them along. The individual may also choose to, or fail to, pass along ideas and practices and thus potentially alter culture in this manner. Thus, culture is malleable, ever being invented and contested (Jackson 1999:5), and is transmissible, ever being inherited and retransmitted in one form or another.

Returning to my original assertion of culture being composed of both ideational and adaptive aspects, this view takes into consideration concerns associated with ecological and environmental anthropology. It sees culture, irreducibly, as being an adaptive tool, which enables humans to survive. In this view, culture is mental phenomena, the ideas, values, attitudes and beliefs which produce behaviour necessary for an individual to effectively act in their environment (and hence survive to reproduce biologically and/or to pass along knowledge). This adaptive component acknowledges that human behaviour affects, and is

also affected by, a wider complex environment composed of both its social and physical aspects (Hunn 1989:143). The ideational component stresses symbolic thought and communication, which enable the production of cultural plans, which in turn produce behaviour. These cultural plans are conscious plans and are detectible through the native language of the individual carrying them (Hunn 1989:146).

Shared meaning then, embedded in language, attached to ideas, values, beliefs, and attitudes, which gives rise to behavioural patterns, is the foundation of culture. In culturally heterogeneous fora, disparate cultural aspects and the behaviour they produce, in conjunction with varying social and historically-based perspectives, can produce significant disjuncture and dissonance between the cultural/ethnic groups present and consequently prevent collaborative partnership (Poncelet 2004:xxi-xxii). It is for this reason this research utilizes what participants have said and done, and examines the associated meanings they convey—the shared ideas, values, beliefs and attitudes of the cultural group they identify as being part of— to determine the role of culture in their multi-stakeholder efforts to restore endemic biodiversity on Maungatautari.

Informing Disciplines and Theory

Sociocultural Anthropology

With an academic focus in anthropology I naturally approach issues and phenomena using the perspectives of this discipline and conduct analyses based on its core concept, "culture". It follows then that sociocultural anthropology and one of its subfields, environmental anthropology, are the disciplinary approaches selected for a study of the role culture in the multi-stakeholder Maungatautari project. Moreover, I would not examine the project and its community through another discipline without prior and sufficient training in it. Yet I realise other disciplines exist and those trained in them could submit the project to analyses relative to the core concepts and foci of those disciplines. However, their analyses simply would not address the research questions I have posed.

Given the use of sociocultural anthropology in this study of the MEIT project, a number of relevant events and factors need to be considered. First, the Māori cultural resurgence and the Treaty of Waitangi Acts have reified the Treaty and influence the cultural identity-constructing or reinforcing endeavours among both Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders (Bell 1996: 9-10; Denoon et al. 2000:3, 5; Hoey 2004: 191-193; Simpson 1992:572-573; Smith 2005: 227-232, 252). Second, recall that modern New Zealand society is one configured from a colonial settler society implanted on and over an indigenous one.

Over time, the indigenous peoples went from being the majority to the minority in the population. Māori Treaty rights were breached deliberately and as the Treaty went largely ignored decade upon decade. Then, with the Māori cultural revitalisation and the influence of the modern environmental movement, and findings of ecological harm upon Māori cultural and natural resources in three Treaty grievance cases, concern for the environment and Māori cultural needs germinated into the Resource Management Act (RMA) 1991 (Young 2004:192-195). The act requires that local authorities take into account the Treaty of Waitangi by incorporating Māori cultural needs and rights, and seek to partner with local *iwi* (Māori tribes or subtribes) in planning for the use and care of natural resources and other actions that would affect such resources (Craig et al. 2000:65; Kolig 2002:99-101; see also the RMA 1991, section 7:21-22).

Accordingly, project stakeholder interaction can be assessed as contestations of discourse that link to the 'bicultural' endeavour and Treaty responsibilities, and which ultimately constitute relations of power (Barclay and Liu 2003:2; Goldsmith 2003a:290-291). Treaty obligations are couched in terms of a need to make New Zealand society more bicultural. Accordingly, the cultural rights and needs stakeholders assert, bring into exchanges and debate for recognition and/or inclusion in the project are and can be viewed as assertions of identity, of rights and contestation for power and influence as a stakeholder group or people.

Third, land and property rights, which can be analysed and all too easily bounded within stricture of law, are for me and others more fruitfully and properly examined at least as "social relations between people", and best understood in social or community contexts that are in turn inescapably subject to cultural concepts and conventions (Hann 1998:4,25). To elaborate, they are more than a mere relationship between people and their 'things'. Property rights are irreducibly a network of social relations, imbued with symbolic meanings, as they govern the "conduct of people with respect to the use and disposition of things" (Hoebel 1966:424). For example, land ownership brings certain rights to its owners, and provides boundaries in regard to the ways and duration of time they may use it as set by the wider community or its recognised authority. Further, these rights also stipulate how others are to treat the owner in relation to their property and any resources or benefits associated with it. Ownership then really entails the mutual rights and obligations owners and non-owners of land have toward one another. The concept of inherited or purchased 'ownership' of land, for example, is ownership which is irreducibly defined as a suite of relations or rights. These relations and right are between individuals and groups of people and mark out

how each is to act in relation to the other as it concerns the resource (e.g. a person enters an agreement with a landowner who has exclusive rights to land and water in order to gain permission to use them). Because property relations exist as social relations with symbolic meanings within a sociocultural milieu, they are overlaid with, and influenced by, cultural constructs, beliefs, values and attitudes that create meaning for objects and the ways they are to be used (Hann 1998:3). Property relations thus are part and parcel of social relations and the mutual obligations members of a group or society share, which are built on and bounded by culture.

Because of the reality of these sociohistoric developments in New Zealand, culture and cultural-ethnic identity and rights are centre and forefront in much of New Zealand's societal-level debates and issues. Such subjects and concerns, which touch matters of law, social justice, land and natural resources, economics, politics and history, are situated in, and influenced by, the human interactive sphere. The cultural traditions, backgrounds and lens through which project participants are operating influences how and in what ways they view the project, construe it, view other stakeholders groups, determine project goals, and go about prioritising and making decisions. Sociocultural anthropology, with its focus on this human interactive sphere and the ways culture frames these interactions, can provide a compelling tool with which to analyse and evaluate the contributing issues and factors that have and remain likely to produce challenges to, and opportunities for, inter-cultural partnership for MEIT project stakeholders and its community.

Environmental Anthropology

Environmental anthropology, a subfield of sociocultural anthropology, informs this research as it is particularly concerned with examining the interrelationship between human culture and the environments in which humans live. Known also as the 'new ecological anthropology,' it is not to be confused with the old ecological anthropology as it differs from it in a number of significant ways. These differences mainly lie in the aims of each approach, their analytic units, the scale at which their studies are conducted, and the methods by which research is pursued. A brief explanatory comparison will help to distinguish them. Ecological anthropology, which reached a zenith during the 1960s and 1970s, developed out of the works of Julian Steward (1955), Roy Rappaport (1968), and Andrew P. Vayda (1960; 1961). It is associated with a heavy reliance on functionalism and systems theory and a view that sees human culture and activity as adaptation, which as negative feedback, maintained ecological equilibrium (Kottak 1999:23; Townsend 2009:11-13). The approach attempted to

understand a group's culture less from its cultural linkages to groups in the past than by their current methods of living in relation to their environment (Kottak 1999:23; Townsend 2009:13). Field studies in ecological anthropology typically focused on a small human group and the ecosystem they inhabited, which was assumed to be isolated from globally-scaled influence (cultural or economic) and flows of information (Kottak 1999:23-28; Townsend 2009:12). Contemporary critics of this approach and its assumptions point out its failure to recognise the reality that inputs occurred from outside the immediate system via migration, commerce, and the sharing of information (Kottak 1999:23-24; Townsend 2009:26).

In contrast, the new ecological or environmental anthropology, while maintaining an interest in the human-environmental dialectic, asserts that there are no isolated ecosystems and that no human group truly lies outside a wider world system (Kottak 1999:25; Townsend 2009:26). The old notion, that it is possible to find and study an isolated cultural group was put to rest and theoretical interests shifted along with research aims, necessitating methodological changes (Kottak 1999:25). Further, the new ecological anthropology is politically aware and aims to inform policy to some desired end, and in doing so, does not strictly adhere to cultural relativism's value-neutrality (Kottak 1999:25). This acknowledges the fact that many anthropologists, who come to possess unique and crucial data, witness or discover threats, injury and crucial dilemmas faced by the people they study. Consequently, these anthropologists can help in the struggles to prevent or mitigate harm and risk to the peoples they study and/or the global community (Brosius 1999:281; Kottak 1999:25; Townsend 2009:54-60,75-77,89-91,93-94). Environmental anthropology then is problem- or action-oriented. It does not seek to just understand, but to develop culturally-informed solutions to an array of problems including environmental degradation, environmental racism, neo-colonial theft or extraction, ecocide, culturally insensitive external management systems and more (Kottak 1999:23,25; see Townsend 2009:50-52,55-58,89-90 for a brief overview of a few prime examples).

The scale at which research is done differs, again, as no single group is truly isolated. Allowing for the dynamic nature of any community or group over time and space, and amidst the linkages globalisation builds, environmental anthropology includes national and international levels as units of analysis along with the local and regional levels (Kottak 1999:25; Townsend 2009:88). Methodologically, the new ecological anthropology, in rejecting the bounded-system approach of the 1960s, embraces multi-sited research, takes advantage of new technologies (e.g. software, survey, GIS mapping, and satellite imagery, etc.), and the data, such that ecological issues are more deeply and broadly contextualised in

space and time (Kottak 1999:25,30; Townsend 2009:73,81). Often, an outcome of this approach is an increase in ecological awareness, actionable recommendations, and efforts toward collaborative sustainability (Kottak 1999:23,25). Theoretically, it accesses poststructuralist social and cultural theory and tends to maintain a savvy awareness of impinging political and economic linkages and policies that permeate human groups at the local, regional, and global levels (Brosius 1999:279; Kottak 1999:23,30). Research within this approach is keenly interested in the issues and topics associated with political economy, globalisation and transnationalism in conjunction with considerations of power and inequality, the contingency of historical and cultural formations, and the hegemony related to those producing knowledge (Brosius 1999:278).

In planning and conducting fieldwork among Madagascar's Betsileo, Conrad Kottak found Rappaport's and ecological anthropology's bounded, local systems approach inadequate to deal with the larger population (some 800,000 people over the territory) and the complex socio-political organisation there (Kottak 1999:24). By combining ethnography and survey techniques he was able to evaluate ecological adaptation by identifying associations or bundles of inter-related material variables, which were in effect correlations across time and space made possible by not doggedly trying to identify or demarcate supposed locally-bounded ecosystems (Kottak 1999:24).

The lesson here is that the analysis of state-level societies, or even segments of them, logistically requires something different than that which is customarily prescribed by the old ecological anthropology (Kottak 1999:24; Townsend 2009:38-39). Even with new methodologies and technology, Brosius (1999:281) reasserts the importance of continuing to use ethnographic research via participant observation in environmental anthropology as it is particularly well suited to shed intimate light on inter-cultural relationships and human–environmental relationships. The MEIT project and its wider community consisting of local, regional, national, and international players from diverse sociocultural backgrounds, who are nonetheless devoted to and/or affected by a biodiversity project at a shared, but contested physical site, constitutes a logical target of environmental anthropology's approach and analytical methods. Lastly, given the likelihood that challenges of an inter-cultural nature have been and will continue to occur in other similarly configured and diverse MEPs—particularly those in post-colonial, culturally-heterogeneous societies— a study of the MEIT project and community via environmental anthropology would add to this field of knowledge and provide grounded and specific insight that can aid others engaged in these endeavours.

Research Methodology

The primary source of participant data for this research comes from recorded semi-structured interviews, consensual casual conversations and participant-observation notes. To commence formal fieldwork and data collection, my wife and I and our five children relocated in July of 2009 from Phoenix, Arizona, U.S.A. to the Leamington suburb of Cambridge, New Zealand. After full university approval for the research, I commenced formal fieldwork in January 2010. Over the course of two and half years I volunteered in the MEIT project, undertaking a diverse number of roles that regularly and frequently exposed me to hundreds of MEIT volunteers, stakeholder members and Trust officers. This occurred via daily, weekly and monthly project tasks, project management meetings, community and project events, Trust board and other project subcommittee meetings, and time spent in the project's office as volunteer funding specialist. I also participated in other community events and undertook other volunteer roles which provided opportunities for conversation and experiences with those in the wider community not directly engaged in the project. When acting in my role as a researcher I directly informed those around me of this, the intent of the research, and their right to not participate and/or remain anonymous. Prior to the commencement of fieldwork, MEIT and I discussed my research and goals and announced these to its supporters and volunteers by email and in their newsletter. In formal Trust meetings my presence was reiterated by announcement. Notes on all these experiences and endeavours were recorded in notebooks and Microsoft Office OneNote.

Consensual casual interviews occurred most frequently in the course of participant-observation during project volunteer tasks. I wrote down what I recollected of these conversations as soon as possible afterward in a notebook/field journal and/or OneNote. These exchanges and writings permitted me to remember and better familiarise myself with individuals, situations, concerns, developments, and issues and they informed follow-up and subsequent casual conversations and the questions I developed for semi-structured interviews.

Semi-structured interviews came about through various preparatory steps. In the doctoral proposal a number of likely discussion questions and topics were identified. In the course of fieldwork I identified willing participants and honed questions based on more detailed information made available through fieldwork participation and the relationship built with each participant. Topics and interview questions thus reflected participants' individual backgrounds, their stakeholder group memberships (some had more than one group affiliation), and the ways they were involved with the project. Interview questions and topics

were further modified relative to key issues and events in the project at the time of the interview and/or in conjunction with what reliable knowledge participant's shared on certain project events and developments. Thematically, interview questions can be organised into several categories: a) family roots and immigrant stories; b) connection to and role in the project; c) views on New Zealand culture, society, lifeways, and history; d) views on the project and its politics; e) views on project stakeholder group interrelationships; and f) knowledge of various Māori and English words and concepts appertaining to conservation. Each interview participant was provided a research information sheet outlining the intent of the research, how it was being conducted, and their rights as participants. Included were my contact details and those of my two primary research supervisors at the university. I also provided, and collected, a research consent form. These records have been retained by myself and provide me with their wishes vis-à-vis the use of their name, identifying details, and viewpoints in research publications.

Typically, semi-structured interviews took place at participants' homes located throughout the Waikato region. In some cases, they took place at one of the Trust's ancillary offices in Cambridge and at the University of Waikato's campus in Hamilton. Usually they were completed over the course of two visits, though in a few cases either one visit sufficed or additional ones were needed. Typically, each recorded session was two to three hours in length. The interviews were intentionally conversational in nature, but generally followed the order of the pre-determined questions and topics I prepared. However, the conversational nature of the exchanges did at times mean that some topics were discussed at different stages compared to other interviews. As interviews proceeded I made abbreviated notes on a printed interview question prompt sheet which enabled me to know which question or topic was covered and which ones remained to be covered. Interviews were recorded by means of an Apple iPod and a Philips voice recorder.

Interview transcripts were transcribed using Nuance Dragon NaturallySpeaking software, version 12.50, Home Edition. I accomplished this by first calibrating the software to my voice and vocabulary used in New Zealand. I then listened to recorded interviews and vocally repeated what I heard into a microphone, allowing Dragon NaturallySpeaking to transcribe the material as Word documents. This was done by listening to a recorded portion, pausing the recorded interview, and audibly repeating what I heard for NatuallySpeaking to transcribe. Supplemental research data and information was obtained from documents provided by MEIT, local Māori hapū members and other individuals in the community. Library research, using books, periodicals, government documents and official reports, was

conducted at the Cambridge Public Library/Waipa District Council Offices and the main library at the Hamilton campus of The University of Waikato.

Participant Data Representation in the Thesis

A deliberate effort was made to interview a wide range of individuals as participants in order to produce a robust and representative array of those involved in the project and or connected to the mountain in one way or another. This culminated in sixty-seven semi-structured recorded interviews and a handful of unrecorded interviews. Interview participants include the Wallaces as the project was their brainchild, current and former trustees, local Māori hapū members, marae representatives and landowners, adjoining landowner farmers, frequent and intermittent project volunteers, office volunteers, subcommittee members, former volunteers, politicians and/or public servants, and individuals from the wider community in positions that impact the project. All recorded interview participants were provided the opportunity to receive research information and consent forms. These consent forms record their wishes in relation to whether they could be identified in research publications or not. Accordingly, to respect the privacy and wishes of certain participants who wanted to remain anonymous, personal and other details which could identify them were not included in the thesis and they are provided pseudonyms in this research.

Participant data represented in the thesis was not selected for inclusion at random. The strategy used in deciding what data is represented in the thesis stems from a desire to represent each category in relation to the many ways that people have connected and do connect to the mountain and/or the project itself. For this reason it is important to include the data of participants who occupied central roles in the project, those from each stakeholder group, and those in ancillary or perfunctory roles or positions. Likewise, given the focus of this thesis, it goes nearly without saying that it is essential to include both Māori and Pākehā voices. Similarly, it is important to include the voices of those from any gender category and to include data that represents the entire age/life spectrum of project participants. Likewise, data that represents both neophyte and more seasoned project volunteers and participants is included. The data included in the thesis also needed to represent those who reside close to the mountain in the local, rural community and nearby villages and towns regardless of any active participation in the project, as well as those connected to it in some fashion but who were further afield, including Tirau, Te Awamutu and Matangi, or Hamilton or beyond it to the north.

After interviews were transcribed, I reviewed them in conjunction with the notes I made during interviews. I then selected an array of participants whose data fulfilled the requirements stipulated above. The data presented in this thesis then is simply the responses of participants that collectively represent the entire spectrum of views I encountered. Further, the responses predominately utilised are those that most concisely and clearly conveyed the viewpoints shared with others.

In connection with research and writing exigencies, this representational strategy may make it appear that local Māori participant data and voices are not included to the degree that others in the community and project are. The strategy behind data inclusion and participant representation was to provide data from one individual that represents well and/or succinctly a view, comment or discourse that many others in that category expressed. If one local Māori participant succinctly expressed a view many others in a category did, then only their view on a subject was related on behalf of all others. Also, Māori compose a smaller percentage of the overall population throughout the country (12-13%), and a similar proportion exists in the project's local area and region. This means that there are fewer local Māori able to participate in the project relative to all other local New Zealanders who can also participate. Another factor is the limitation of space associated with the word count limit of a thesis. Not all that was said can be included. If so, it could be thousands of pages in length. There simply was no way to include the data of every participant from each of the various participant categories and achieve a word count anywhere near 100,000 words.

The combined result of these factors means that on paper, what is represented in terms of Māori voice is merely a representational selection standing in for all similar shared views expressed by all local Māori who participated in the research. Also, there was a high degree of shared views among local Māori participants, which means that the data of fewer individuals can represent the bulk of those in the categories local Māori occupied. Consequently, though the 'Māori voice' may appear to be less represented in relation to all other participants, this is a function of wider and local demographics and the need to succinctly represent the variety of views and responses received from all participants in all the categories and ways they connect to the mountain and/or the project.

CHAPTER II

EMERGENCE OF THE MEIT PROJECT

The emergence of the Sanctuary Mountain/Maungatautari Ecological Island project, and the formation of the non-profit trust that started it, stems from the intersection of a number of geological and socio-historic events and developments and a number of sociocultural factors. Briefly, here are events and factors that set the stage for MEIT and its project. First, Maungatautari had to exist as a mountain. Further, its steep slopes were covered up by volcanic debris and material from the Great Taupo Eruption that produced more gentle slopes. The maunga was also colonised by endemic and native plants and trees that matured into a climax forest through the concomitant establishment of endemic and native animal species. Later non-native species introduced to the island by humans progressively outcompeted and largely replaced most endemic and indigenous fauna on the maunga.

In terms of a human presence on Maungatautari, a few Māori hapū historically called Maungatautari home, made use of its resources, and had sacred sites there. At least two hapū remained connected with Maungatautari into contemporary times. Importantly however, though Maungatautari's slopes were not as steep as they once were, Māori and later European settlers never systematically logged or cleared the maunga of its forest cover. Māori did cultivate wheat, bracken fern, and maintained a number of fruit orchards on its lower slopes. Settlers thereafter used its lower slopes for intensive livestock and agricultural use, which continues to this day. Despite the intensive use of its lower slopes, at some point along the way, its upper slopes, peaks and forests were designated a Crown scenic reserve. Further, though land confiscations and Western land ownership conventions and law resulted in large swaths of land from being taken out of Māori control in the Waikato Region, a significant portion of land on Maungatautari remained in local Māori ownership in the form of Māori land blocks.

A few other developments significantly contributed to the emergence of the project. Foremost among them is New Zealand's 1840 Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty, especially through it acceptance into formal law in 1975, created a special relationship between the Crown, or New Zealand's government and society at large, and its indigenous Māori peoples. Now enshrined in various legislative Acts and government policies, this reified Treaty

permits Māori the right to lodge claims against the government for actions that breached the treaty historically and possibly receive restitution in one form or another.

Another contributory development is the level of biodiversity conservation acumen New Zealand acquired in numerous offshore island conservation projects. Lessons learnt and successes in these endeavours played a role in the invention of, and desire to use, pest and predator barrier fences to creat mainland ecological "island" projects. Lastly, many in the wider Cambridge and Karapiro communities, and throughout the Waipa District, held special regard for Maungatautari based on personal experiences with the maunga and the species that once thrived there. Accordingly they noted and lamented the disappearance of many of the New Zealand's endemic species from its forests, which by the turn of the twenty-first century had become eerily quiet.

The last two points are the most proximate and enabling factors in relation to the project's emergence. The preceding factors could rightly be considered the reasons why people felt the project was needed in the first place and/or the conditions wherein such a venture could come about. Each and every one of these elements had a part to play in the project's emergence, but to make a point, the birth of the MEIT Project can be most directly attributed to the development of the Xcluder pest-proof fence and the desire a few had to restore Maungatautari's biodiversity (or at least improve the mountain's ecosystems) and their ability to convince others that an ecological island project could work there. Without a cost-effective way to physically separate pests from reintroducing themselves at will back onto Maungatautari, a true ecological and pest-free 'island' could not be created. Endemic and native species could not be prudently returned to its slopes as they would otherwise be eaten, killed or outcompeted.

For a number of reasons many others needed to be convinced of the idea for the project, its aim, and its plausibility. Local Māori subtribes had maintained a long presence on, and connection to, the mountain. Many hectares of its land and forests are owned by many of their subtribe members. Their access to and/or use of these lands would be forever impacted by the project. Additionally, the presence of a permanent exclusion fence, and various daily/weekly project operations, would affect operations on the many farms that encircle the forest to be enclosed on the mountain. Also, the land on the mountain is owned by various parties which would all need to agree as to its inclusion and use in the project and the project's primary goals at any given time. A large portion is owned by the government, again which is designated a Crown scenic reserve. Another large ownership segment consists of the Māori block lands owned by various subtribe members and families. The remaining hectares

are those owned by adjoining landowner farmers. Additionally, wide public support would be needed and prudent. People had been using Maungatautari for various reasons for decades. Hunters and campers enjoyed its forests. Trampers walked its trails. Some even enjoyed some motor-cross there. Lastly, the project would require considerable amounts of both money and human input in the form of either paid workers and/or volunteers. This would require broad support, public and private donations and funding, and people willing to donate their time and expertise in the project.

The local Māori subtribes, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura, Ngāti Haua, Raukawa and Ngāti Wairere, have ancestral claim to the maunga, or portions of it and/or areas around it dating back to at least the 1600s (Scott 2003). From that time, their peoples have lived around the mountain, used its resources, and maintained cultural and spiritual links to it, though in a decreasingly overt fashion. Presently, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura maintain a prominent connection in the form of two marae on its slopes, on which wharenui or sacred meeting houses are built. Further, they also maintain urupā there. Raukawa, whose rohe lies west of the maunga, have a marae a modest distance away southwest of the mountain. To be clear though, Maungatautari and the entire area was until the 1860s entirely under local Māori control and mana, and they have managed to maintain a portion of their lands and links there despite government confiscation, legalised dispossessions, and economic pressures which aided land divestiture out of Māori hands into Pākehā ones (Scott 2003). That local Māori retained some lands and mana over them, and continue to have a presence in the area, reinforces their status as mana whenua, the people who have rights over the land. Even so, much of their land was wrested from them. Many privately-owned farms dating from the 1800s, which are owned by individuals and families who are not Māori, are established around and on the maunga's slopes. This came about due to land losses stemming from the New Zealand Land Wars and settler and government aspirations for land. Following the Kingitanga's (a Māori King movement primarily within the Waikato-Tainui tribe) surrender and the end of the war, Ngāti Koroki were labelled as rebels and had much of their land confiscated by the government. Thereafter, the Native/Māori Land Court processes came to alienate more land from Mana Whenua. This occurred through land tenure reforms which spurred unethical land sales. This included compulsory sales of land to settle debts they "accumulated" by way of court fees and imposed land surveys, and later, in the 1900s, to pay land rates. Through such means their lands soon became lands for purchase, clearing and settlement. Over time, settler farms were established in the area which have subsequently been passed down to a second or third generation or sold or leased.

Not all of the land on and around Maungatautari came to be in private ownership however. Some remained in Māori hands. A significant portion of Maungatautari came under more formal Crown control as scenic reserve land in connection with the (1977) Reserves Act. The exact provenance of this progression— Māori land, to private land, with some becoming scenic reserve land— is somewhat obscure and debated. Some allege Local Māori sold Maungatautari to a timber company, which in the end made little use of the mountain's forests, and over time sold off land which eventually came into Crown hands. Some assert that Māori who sold lands in the late 1800s and in the 1900s did so willingly, under no duress. What is known is that due to legalised land confiscation, processes aimed at land alienation, and subsequent economic duress which forced many Māori to urban centres, Ngāti Koroki members became essentially landless. Some significant portions of land on Maungatautari acquired by settlers, considered unsuitable for grazing or production, were sold to the Crown in the early 1900s and came to form the bulk of the scenic reserve. The sellers were either settler families, or indirectly, the Maungatautari Land Company which purchased the blocks from settlers. More recently, some settler descendants gifted some portions of their land on Maungatautari to the reserve.

These recently donated lands, and those acquired by the Crown in the 1900s, presently compose the scenic reserve. Waipa District Council, as the local governing body holds statutory stewardship over this Crown asset of 2,542 hectares (see Figure 4.1). Architects of the proposed MEIT project knew that to be successful the project's 'island' would need to be as large as it could be. It necessarily would include Crown reserve hectares and need to include most, if not all, Māori land block hectares. Additionally, they knew that it would be easier and more cost effective to install the project's fence at the rear of adjoining landowner farmer lands, where paddocks ended and created a stark forest treeline. Accordingly, they recognised that in order to launch the project, actually install anywhere between 30km to 50km of fencing, and ensure the project's future success, this would mean they needed the agreement and/or backing of the landowners of land on the maunga. Further, given the intended size and audacious aims of the project, a significant sum of money would be needed to launch and manage the project. This would no doubt depend on a broad groundswell of support across the wider community, its businesses, and those in local, regional and central governmental offices and departments. Thus, project architects and early proponents knew that the idea of the project and its aims had to be compelling enough to marshal broad support from all stakeholders. Further, they knew that the pest-proof fence system had to be viable and proven to be effective. Consequently, a unifying vision for the

project and its aims, and an effective pest barrier system, were essential elements in the attempt to restoring the ecosystem and fauna of Maungatautari via an ecological island method. For this reason, the actual birth of the Maungatautari project has its roots in the development of the Excluder pest-proof fence system and in the idea that endemic New Zealand species could be returned to Maungatautari and once thrive there.

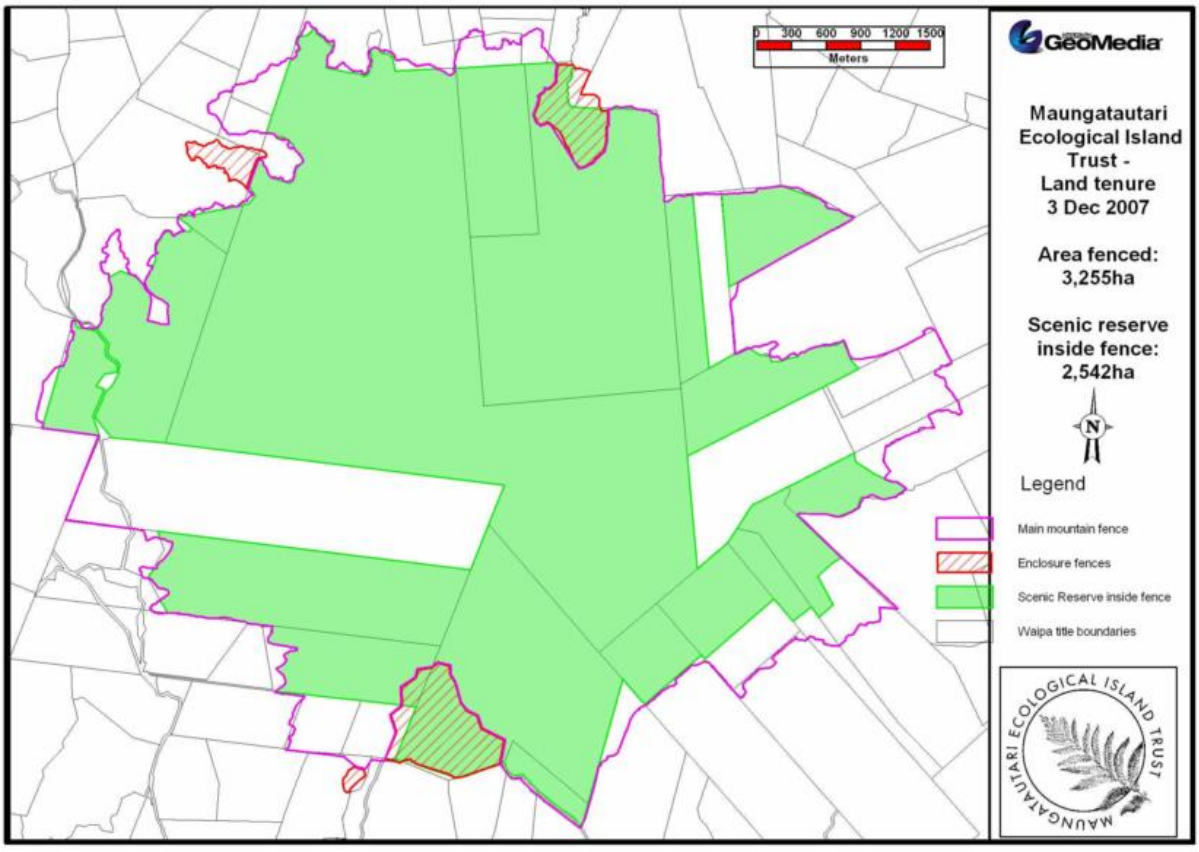

Figure 2.1 Land Block Map of Maungatautari The map here provides an indication of both the project's size and shape. The green shaded area is the Crown Scenic Reserve under the stewardship of Waipa District Council at the time the project was started. Note that the entire 2,542 hectares of this scenic reserve are enclosed by the project's fence, here indicated by the purple line. The large white areas within the project's fence primarily remain forested and are owned as Māori corporate land blocks and freehold blocks. Approximately 586ha are Māori block lands, while 102ha are freehold titled blocks. Used with permission.

Warrenheip: Birthplace of a Vision

Southeast of New Zealand's fourth most populous city, Hamilton City, within the Waikato region and astride the Waikato River, is the town of Cambridge. A few kilometres southeast from Cambridge, where Highway 1 borders Lake Karapiro, Fergusson Gully Road branches off as it ascends up a ridge and meanders generally eastward about 800 metres

before ending at private land blocks. Before you reach the road's end, some stretches of a strange fence with booms and nets atop it appear to your right. Further along a sign with the word "Warrenheip" appears, welcoming visitors to the 16ha gully-based private ecological reserve. This reserve, a mini ecological "island", is the birthplace of the MEIT project.

Warrenheip began in the mid-1990s as a personal project of David and Juliette Wallace. A few years earlier they purchased the property precisely for it decent sized gully and flowing stream. They first intended to remove what invasive plants were there, such as Monterey Pines (*Pinus radiata*), a conifer from California and Mexico, and replace them with endemic and native trees and plants with the aim to restore the gully and produce some rare, native timber. Over a number of years, they and a grounds manager removed exotic flora species, and planted more than 60,000 trees and plants in an effort to re-establish a native ecosystem. They soon noticed their investment and work being undermined. Australian Brushtail possums and European rabbits introduced long ago into New Zealand for a fur trade and food respectively, were chewing up seedlings and plantings. Once it was realised that trapping was not sufficiently curtailing the destruction, they and animal behaviourist Tim Dey jointly developed, tested and installed a pest-excluding fence around the gully. Bait and traps were then used to clear the enclosure of possums and other pests, including rats and stoats. Noting it success as evidenced by tracking cards that showed consistently no signs of pest and predator mammals or possums, the nation's Kiwi Recovery Programme elected to have some of its kiwi chicks raised in the Warrenheip enclosure. This endorsement provided additional confidence to David and Juliette in the fence and eco-island system they created, and brought Warrenheip to its zenith.

When Juliette and David Wallace bought the property they were a mid-life, newlywed couple interested in starting a new life chapter on a property they could jointly shape. They first met in 1993 while participating in an adult continuing education course which explored diverse subjects including human relationship psychology, quantum physics and religion. They quickly recognised in each other a passion for New Zealand's outdoor rural environment and lifestyle. When I asked them why they thought they identified these interests in each other so quickly, Juliette, who was raised on the South Island, responded first, explaining where her affection for the environment came from:

> …I think that for me it was my roots basically, and I guess for David it was his roots too, because my father loved nature…I used to run out of the house and not do the housework for mum and just go and grab dad's hand and we walk[ed] through the orchards…working

> on the orchard with him— that part of it I really loved, and he had a very— he was a very gentle man…a very religious man, [who] really taught me the beauty of nature basically …[B]ut that connection with the forest and nature certainly started…there. [recorded interview, 19 Apr. 2011, Karapiro]

David then explained, "…we're both people from the land, …rural backgrounds, …and when we started looking for property, one of the factors was that this had a lovely valley, stream, with a lot of native ferns, and, I mean Warrenheip was very denuded bush too…but it had the potential to be something really beautiful". A moment later, Juliette clarified, "…I wasn't used to living on a farm… …when [growing up] in Roxburgh, we actually lived in the town, and the orchard…, we had to drive to it…so coming here, when we had to have our own water [source], I was a bit shell-shocked, because suddenly the big trees were coming down— the pine trees, and the forest…" To be fair her 'shell-shocked' state was likely as much brought on by the transition to this rural environment relative to her most recent life in the urban Remuera, in Auckland, as it was the onset of a rural lifestyle and the subsequent stark change they were effecting on their property with the removal of each and every non-native tree from the gully.

David's connection to the outdoors began with the childhood experience of being raised in the Waikato region, where he helped his father develop land and peatbogs into farmland. His grandparents emigrated from Scotland in 1914, settling in the Waikato's Hautapu area as dairy farmers. This was the site of many fond childhood memories he recalls, including many occasions where he helped his grandmother milk cows. His mother's side of the family were sheep and cattle farmers on a farm some distance up Luck at Last Road, on the north-western slopes of Maungatautari. In the early stages of the MEIT project, he and a few others hosted New Zealand's then new Prime Minister, Helen Clark, took her up the mountain, explained the concept of the project and showed her some of the newly erected Xcluder fence. While there, Clark informed him that she had enjoyed childhood holidays (just as David had) on the slopes of Maungatautari. At her statement, David opined, she became a supporter of the project, as "it was her mountain, Maungatautari was her mountain, as it was mine."

These narratives and experiences, centred on rural experiences, do not seem uncommon or out of place for many New Zealanders who have grown up and lived all their lives in the country. While I could not say with any certainty how much time on average New Zealanders spend outdoors over their lifetimes, or per year, or per month, nor provide a ratio compared with any other society, I can say that in living there for three years, it was clear to

see with those I interacted, in regards to daily life, work, and discretionary pursuits, there was a penchant to engage in outdoor activities over those done indoors. I was, however, living in a small, rural town in the heart of the agricultural focused Waikato region. Daily life for many I came to know entailed farm work, maintenance of small vegetable gardens and/or landscape gardens. Additionally, outdoor pastime activities seemed to feature regularly in people's lives: sport, day tramps, bush walks, river trails, cycling, boating, kayaking, horseback riding, BMX bike racing, and more.

It was easy to feel from our conversations and time together that David and Juliette both held an affinity for the natural environment and its beauty. Though, in David's case it seems his attitudes toward the environment could have shifted slightly over the course of his life. In his youth and young adult years he worked in his father's farm business. After university, he returned and worked for his father another four years, and then in 1966, was handed the reins to the business at age 26. His father's other prominent business was J.D. Wallace Contracting Ltd., which engaged in contracted land development for the New Zealand government's Land and Survey Department. Over the life of this business, David said his father developed 240,000 acres of the central plateau, which extends north and west from Lake Taupo toward Tokoroa and Rotorua. When I asked David what 'developed' meant in this context, he first explained that the land they tamed was covered in tall kanuka and manuka, along with other colonising or pre-climax forest plants which had reached four or five metres high. His father, he said, was determined to tame the land and to do so he

> developed…big crushing rollers…[to crush] this stuff down, …then…months later they [burnt it] and…they came in with supergiant disks…and cultivated and seeded, and the whole program— and this is the late 1940s, 50s, perhaps into the 60s— was designed…to provide farmland for the returned soldiers from World War II, …the government was absolutely bent on settling these returned servicemen…and it was a fantastic thing, and now a lot of that is beautiful farmland, but, I mean perhaps some of it…shouldn't [have been] developed, it was a bit steep, [but] a lot of it was just good easy rolling country. So that was my background there, with my father, developing land… [recorded interview, 19 Apr. 2011, Karapiro]

In addition to learning his father's trade, David said he learnt a mantra from his father: '…leave the land in a better state than when we found it.' This he said guided his father's actions in connection with land. David conceded that this attitude and mantra did not always yield ecologically desirable results, and certainly not by today's standards. Referring to his father and other farmers of that generation who cleared and tamed vast tracks of land almost indiscriminately, David said "they didn't know enough to know that we were in fact at that

time probably heading in the wrong direction in some respects." Presently he says he and many other farmers combine a primary consideration of previous generations, to make the dairy or farm business as efficient as possible, with the contemporary consideration of making farming more environmentally responsible. David added that in relation to the farm programmes now in place to achieve this, "if my grandfather and father knew what we were up to now, they would be impressed, because…they wanted to be good guardians of the land."

With these experiences, ideas, and attitudes influencing them, David and Juliette looked for and found a suitable property to both live on and develop a healthy patch of native forest. As mentioned above, they set about clearing the gully of invasive tree species and set about re-introducing native and endemic New Zealand plants. Yet they encountered the same challenge that endemic biota and those engaged in conservation all over New Zealand have been facing and losing to: the scourge of possums, rats, rabbits, mice, stoats, et cetera, eating plants, seedlings, seeds, invertebrates, eggs, young birds and more. Amid these challenges to both their will and their pocketbook, and the realisation that there was far less native bush in the Waikato region compared to what existed before, David and Juliette pushed on in their efforts to reclaim and restore the gully. It was at this stage that two things, which David calls "trigger points", combined and influenced them, and sparked the development of the Xcluder fence system.

One of these trigger points was the 1995 release of ecologist Geoff Park's book *Nga Uruora: The Groves of Life – Ecology and History in a New Zealand Landscape*. At the recommendation of a friend, they read it and were "uplifted by it". Park starts the book by relating personal experiences in New Zealand's natural environments while kayaking, noting ecosystem change over time in certain areas. Park's observations made him consider the larger scope of New Zealand's ecological story. In his discussion, which links history and ecology, Park recounts places he has visited and discusses Māori beliefs and views relative to them. His discussion also endeavours to clarify or correct misconceptions concerning Māori use of land over time in an effort to change opinion that would seek to justify ignoring indigenous peoples, their ecological knowledge, and their plights. The overall end result is a somewhat romantic presentation, but one which conveys a balanced view of what New Zealand used to feature in the way of biological and ecological diversity and conveys the environmental effects associated with human colonisation, activity as driven by human attitudes toward nature. For David and Juliette, *Nga Uruora* helped them realise the scope and severity of New Zealand's environmental modifications at the hands of humans, the

paucity of its endemic biodiversity, and the ongoing risk most of its remaining endemic species precipitous faced.

The second trigger was a television programme centred on a certain conservation project. The documentary extolled Department of Conservation offshore operations[1] on Breaksea Island. They eradicated every rat on the island by distributing brodifacoum, a blood-thinner mammalian poison, enabling native penguins and other birds reintroduced there to flourish. Saliently, the fact that it was an island was not lost on the Wallaces. They, like others, recognised that the ocean was a physical barrier that prevented rats from reintroducing themselves to the island. For the Wallaces, the combination of a physical barrier and the use of poison bait was a "shining example…that you could get rid of these [pest] species". It showed them a clear, proven path forward for their gully.

These two triggers, or realisations, played on the concerns and troubles they were experiencing in their gully. They began to see Warrenheip as something more than just a nursery for native timber as they realised they could permanently eradicate pests in the gully provided a proven physical barrier could be found. They turned to Roger Macgibbon, their forest ecosystem consultant, and George Calvert, a fence builder who lived nearby. Together, they postulated that perhaps there was a way to exclude pests by means of a purpose-built fence system. They all mutually agreed the first criteria must be that it was scientifically proven effective. They submitted an application to the Ministry for the Environment for research funding from its Sustainable Developments Fund and received matched funding for three years. They enlisted then PhD student Tim Dey to conduct the animal behaviour research trials for every fence design they devised, refining and testing them until they had at least one successful system. With this proven fence, they decided to form a limited liability company, Xcluder, with Juliette and all the others listed as shareholders, except David.

[1] New Zealand's foregoing efforts at the conservation and restoration of threatened and endangered endemic species primarily focused on offshore islands, with 220 of them managed by DOC as of late 2002 (Warne 2002:96). The trend began to change when in the mid-90s DOC launched six mainland projects ranging in size from the smallest at 117ha located at Paengaroa to an amalgamated 3300ha in the Northern Te Urewera forest (Moffat n.d.:52). The primary point of difference between these co-contemporary mainland efforts and that which was proposed for Maungatautari is that with the latter, the aim was to eradicate all mammalian pests permanently— something possible only with a fixed, permanent barrier preventing their re-entry (Moffat n.d.:52).

There was a reason David decided not to be a shareholder. I found this out in an exchange we had. Before I was aware of the Xcluder company's origin story, or how MEIT exactly began, I asked David to tell me when he first had the idea of enclosing Maungatautari with a barrier fence, suggesting in my question that the idea likely came after they had successfully enclosed Warrenheip and eradicated pests within it. He replied:

> Nah, even as we were developing [the] pest-proof fencing…I was thinking of Maungatautari. And when we built the fence up, we were sitting having morning tea with Calvert, George, and Dave [Dave Harlen, Warrenheip's manager] and Peter, and…I'd look across to the mountain and say 'one day, fellas,' (we were only part way through building the fence around Warrenheip), 'one day we are gunna' fence that mountain...' Aww, they would roar with laughter...! [recorded interview, 19 Apr. 2011, Karapiro]

Elsewhere in the conversation he explained: "I never became a shareholder, I could see way back then what was going to happen— I am trying to drive Maungatautari and make it happen and there would be a classic conflict of interest there Matthew, so Juliette became the, a shareholder and director...". David then, aware that he would head the effort to launch the Maungatautari project intentionally did not become an Xcluder shareholder. Further, this evinces the certainty he had in his mind that the project would be a reality and that he would be at the forefront of it.

In their effort to devise a viable fence system, Xcluder actually developed two practical fence designs, one that would retrofit existing stock proof fences (the less costly version at Warrenheip) and a complete, and more permanent and robust system modelled off a standard two metre deer fence. From the establishment of the Xcluder Pest-proof Fencing company in 1997, to when Warrenheip was fully enclosed in November 1999, to the time efforts began for a project on Maungatautari, a few other small projects elsewhere in the country were completed which utilised Xcluder's fence system. This established credibility in the system that the Wallaces and others used to help gain support for the Maungatautari project. The story of the MEIT project then saliently connects to Warrenheip's establishment and success via an Xcluder barrier fence system, and the realisation that it could be scaled up to make Maungatautari an ecological island, free of pests, and fit for species reintroductions. With the advent of a fence that could be used to exclude pests and one which could be installed on nearly any terrain, it was possible then to accomplish this, to make an 'eco-island' as analogue to the successful offshore island projects. With the influence of Geoff Park's writings in *Nga Uruora*, the Wallaces were inspired and motivated to do their own part to save a slice of New Zealand's unique biota. Thus, a vision emerged of what could be

accomplished and a fence created to help it become reality. David and Juliette Wallace, with this vision, then began to work at finding others who could share their vision and work with them to make it reality.

Establishing MEIT

Years before the Maungatautari Ecological Island Trust was even an idea or was formed and the community project launched, the Maungatautari Reserve Committee was formed as an arm of the Waipa District Council to manage Maungatautari as a scenic reserve for and in behalf of them and the Crown. Yet neither this committee nor WDC seemed positioned to lead a comprehensive community-based conservation project on Maungatautari. They are governing and regulatory bodies with elected and appointed officials with responsibilities that don't entail such scope or responsibility. David Wallace was aware of this and knew that ultimately the project would have to be a grass-roots endeavour which also marshalled both local corporate and community resources. Even though Warrenheip did not at the time feature a fully completed fence, David and Juliette used the fence and their project to convince various people that making Maungatautari an ecological island was possible. In the years following Xcluder's formation in 1997, the Wallaces invited key people in the community as well as friends and business acquaintances to a number of 'field-day' events. These enabled the Wallaces to show Warrenheip to possible Maungatautari supporters and discuss their eco-island biodiversity conservation ideas, effectively building a groundswell of support for a Maungatautari project. From these efforts a handful of key local leaders became project supporters and formed the initial Trust— Pākehā and local Māori farmers whose land was next to the maunga and its reserve; community leaders; the government's conservation representative for the region; and other qualified and interested persons. One of these lattermost individuals, Gordon Stephenson, soon thereafter penned the Trust's initial deed.

Subsequently, the Maungatautari Ecological Island Trust was established 29 August 2001 with the filing of a principal deed with New Zealand's Charities Commission. Founding trustees were: Greg Martin, Waikato Region Department of Conservation Conservator; Wallie Clark, an NKK kaumātua; David Wallace; William (Bill) Garland, a Cambridge farmer on Maungatautari; Maxwell Hewitt, then Mayor of Cambridge; and Gordon Stephenson, Putaruru farmer and architect of the Queen Elizabeth II Trust. In its first iteration, the Trust deed stipulated a minimum of ten trustees and no more than sixteen. The first four trustees were composed of an appointee from the Waipa District Council, the Waikato Regional Council, the Waikato Conservation Trust and the Department of

Conservation. Four more trustees were to be appointed to the Trust by Mana Whenua, the area's local Māori stakeholder hapū. The remaining four trustees were to be nominees named by adjoining landowners to represent them, which were then approved and officially appointed by the first four trustees as indicated above. The deed also stipulated that up to four additional trustees could be nominated and appointed by the Trust as deemed necessary. What was to unite the trustees was the Trust's official vision "[t]o remove forever, introduced mammalian pests from Maungatautari, and restore to the forest a healthy diversity of indigenous plants and animals not seen in our lifetime." The Trust then set about building a way forward for their vision. Six goals were established (see this chapter's subsection *Local Community Consultation* for a list of these six goals). Meetings and plans were made. But the most important next step was to galvanise community and stakeholder support for the project.

Participatory Appraisal: A Way Forward

David and Juliette Wallace, Gordon Stephenson, Bill Garland, Tao Tauroa, and others of the Trust who were supporters of its stated vision and goals realised that they needed many more people from the larger community and region to be supporters of the project. Further, they knew that above all they needed to engage with Maungatautari's primary stakeholders. The project also needed funds and financial supporters. Before the Trust was even formally constituted, meetings held under the name of Maungatautari Mountain Ecosystem Restoration Committee, focused on such needs: in its 19 April 2001 meeting, agenda items included: fundraising and a possible sponsorship; Ecoquest student research on the maunga; communication strategies; and an economic plan. Even before this, on 27 February 2001, initial proponents of the project discussed the proceedings of an 18 January 2001 meeting held at Pukeatua's community hall where local landowners provided their input and concerns in relation to the proposed project. By the time MEIT was formally organised, agendas in 2001 indicate that discussion and planning had already taken place concerning the organisation of fundraising committees and ways to present the idea of the project to the wider community, especially adjoining landowner farmers.

A major turning point in the effort to engage the community, harness their energy and build support came with the hosting of participatory appraisal consultations. The Trust engaged Annie Perkins of Groundworks Associates Limited of Hamilton, who trained twenty Pākehā and Māori volunteers, to conduct consultation workshops. With the information from these participatory consultations, Annie and Groundworks produced the *Community Views on Maungatautari and the MEIT Project Report* (hereafter Groundworks a), and the *Iwi*

Consultation on Maungatautari and the MEIT Project Report (hereafter Groundworks b). In the evening of 22 February, and during the day 23 February, 2002, these consultations were conducted at the Hora Hora and Pukeatua community halls, bolstered through visits to various homes and community venues (Groundworks n.d. a:3). Additionally, meetings were held with adjoining landowners, and a separate local Māori consultation process occurred with an initial hui on Maungatautari Marae in April 2002 and a full participatory appraisal consultation meeting held at Pohara Marae 15 June 2002 (Groundworks a n.d.:5; Groundworks n.d. b:3). The specific purpose of these workshop meetings was to glean the views of community residents and workshop participants concerning Maungatautari itself, the proposed project, and a few associated issues (Groundworks n.d. a:3).

In the three subsections to follow, an overview is provided of each consultation along with a summary of the primary data collected. They provide an indication of how and when some core stakeholders groups were more formally exposed to the project and met many of its core proponents. The primary concepts, topics and issues discussed in the consultations relative the establishment of the project and its vision are also included. Additionally, the concerns community members and stakeholders expressed are included. Lastly, there is an analysis of each consultation and the overall process.

Local Community Consultation

The local community consultation began with pamphlets sent by post to all the households around Maungatautari and local media promotions in the fortnight previous to the first consultation workshop. The pamphlet invited people to the workshop and informed them of the proposed project and the manner in which consultation would occur. At each consultation, local individuals, trained as facilitators by Annie Perkins, invited participants to share ideas and knowledge in conjunction with four themes or aspects. First, they anonymously wrote what they liked about Maungatautari and what they didn't like about it, and how they thought it could be improved. Additionally, participants were invited to specify indicate on a map the locations of various activities they performed on Maungatautari.

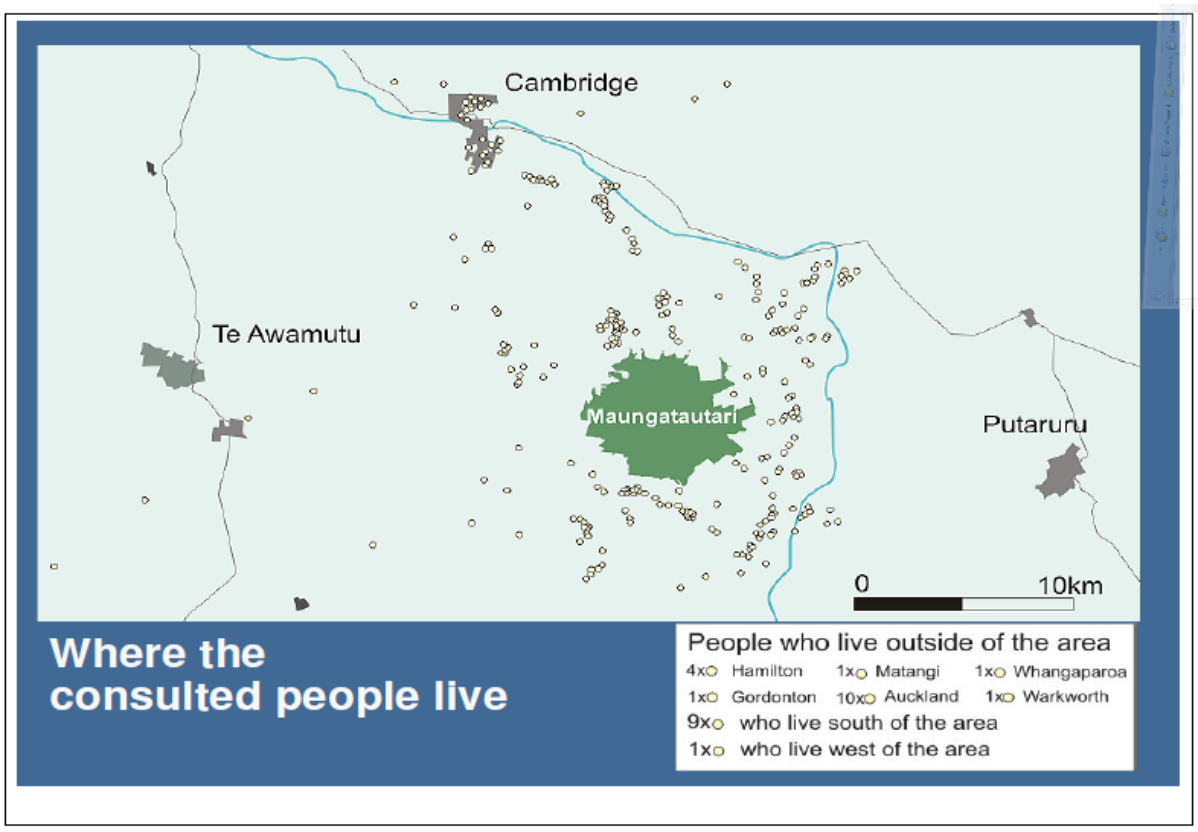

Figure 2.2 Map of Consultation Participants This map, from Groundworks a, page 7, indicates where most of the participants of the community consultation lived. Note also the map's lower right inset which indicates the number and locations of participants living outside the region. Used by permission.

Next, participants related their views of the proposed project relative to the goals MEIT had formally established at that time, which were as follows:

1. Build and maintain a 47 km pest-proof fence around Maungatautari.
2. Eliminate ALL mammalian pests within the fence.
3. Re-introduce threatened and other species no longer present on Maungatautari, including kiwi, kaka, kokopu, kokako, giant wētā, tuatara and more.
4. Build visitor access gates and tracks; create a visitor-friendly wildlife haven.
5. Encourage/build visitor/tourist patronage of Maungatautari and educate them about New Zealand's forests and species.
6. Establish an education facility for school groups, visitors and researchers.

In relation to these six project goals, participants were asked to anonymously write what they did and did not like about the proposed project, and include any ideas to improve it. They

were also asked to indicate their level of support for the project on a continuum which ranged at one end with ‘a very bad idea, worth no support’ and at the other with ‘a very good idea, worth high support’ (see Figure 4.3). Additionally, some chose to provide specific feedback on the specific project goals and/or the project itself.

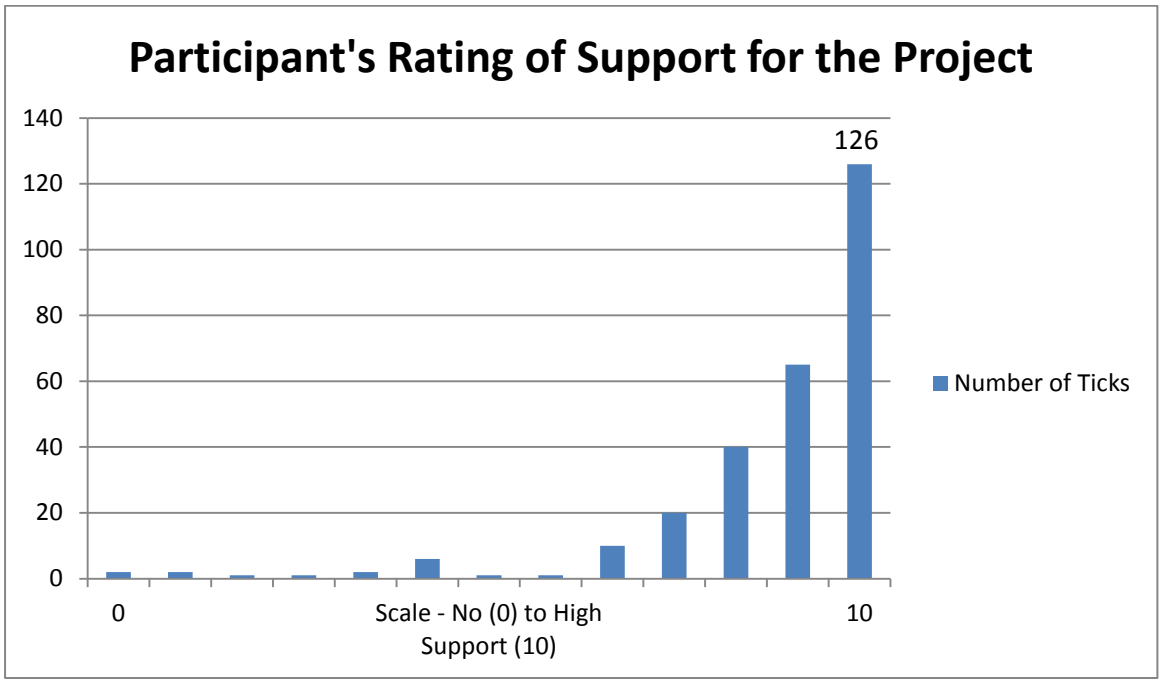

Figure 2.3 Graph of Assessed Support for the Project The figure here is a re-creation of a chart included in the Groundworks a, page 19. The majority of ticks occurred at the high end of the scale. The report states that “the majority of people gave high scores between eight and ten”. As there are 13 columns in the report’s graph it seems that some people placed their tick between numbers on the scale and the graph was made to reflect this. The report’s title for the chart is “How do You Rate the Project.” An explanatory sentence with it says “The graph indicates the level of community support for the Project”. However, it is of course only representative of those who did, at consultation workshops, place a tick on the chart. Data used with permission.

Participants were also invited to share personal experiences and histories of Maungatautari. They wrote specific stories and events on sticky notes and placed them on a timeline chart. Facilitators also collected ideas from participants concerning how they would like to be kept informed of project progress and volunteer opportunities, and those who wanted to, included their contact details for such matters. A section on this form also enabled them to indicate ways they felt they could contribute to or volunteer in the project. In relation to these community consultation efforts and meetings, the Trust records that 490 people participated, of whom 203 were female and 287 were male (Groundworks n.d. a:6).

Age and Sex of Community Consultation Participants

Age	Male	Female	Total
0-15	51	42	93
16-25	43	16	59
26-45	88	73	161
46-65	77	65	142
55+	28	7	35
Totals	**287**	**203**	**490**

Table 2.1 Age and Sex of Community Consultation Participants The table indicates the breakdown by sex and age of participants in the community participatory workshops and other consultative efforts at that time. In the table compiled with regard to Māori participants, the highest range used was not '55+' but '66+'. Table reproduced by author, data used with permission.

Appraisal Participant Views

The *Community Views on Maungatautari and the MEIT Project Report* (Groundworks n.d. a) and a PowerPoint presentation entitled *Community Views Presentation of Annie Perkins* (Perkins n.d.), were constructed and used following the participatory consultation appraisal to present its results to the nascent Trust and stakeholder groups. A great deal of qualitative information is contained in these documents which convey an idea of where many individuals throughout the community stood relative to Maungatautari, the project and various aspects of it at an early conceptual stage. Though all of the information in the documents is interesting, some aspects and topics can be more clearly associated with the concerns, values, and beliefs of participants relative to the mountain and project, as well their interests in, and the ways in which they connect to, Maungatautari. The summarised views included here of the appraisals participants can be collected into these thematic groups: pastimes/use of Maungatautari; biodiversity and pests; tourism; Māori and adjoining landowner involvement; and a sense/vision of the project.

Overwhelming interest existed for tramping on Maungatautari, and relative to the concern for habitat and trail damage, there was a division in support for motor and mountain biking activities there, and less support for horseback riding (Groundworks n.d. a:24-26,28). Broad support was shown for personal training, picnics and innocuous play, though activities such as cutting trees, campfires, and illegal horticulture were broadly disapproved (Groundworks n.d. a:29-30). Some support was shown for deer and pig hunting, which had taken place on Maungatautari and support was evenly split between continuing it and banning it (a few suggested the use of hunters to cull pests) (Groundworks n.d. a:40). Broadly, participants lamented the deteriorated forest condition and loss of birdsong, disliked the presence of pests and wanted their removal, were divided on the use of 1080 poison, and

expressed a great deal of concern relative to the challenge of erecting and maintaining the pest-proof fence and its long-term viability and effectiveness (Groundworks n.d. a:32-37). Wide support was expressed for the project to facilitate tourism and develop walking tracks and tours, though some concern was expressed over possible negative effects to continued human intrusion and making it too much like a park (Groundworks n.d. a:48-49,53-56). Some, though a few, put forward the idea of only permitting access to indigenous peoples (Groundworks n.d. a:48-49).

Relative to stakeholder involvement, there were few responses on the subject of Māori involvement (perhaps people did not want to comment on this), some recognition that some held a large amount of undeveloped land on Maungatautari and that the maunga was a symbol for local tribes, and some concern for and disagreement regarding the pending NKK Treaty settlement and inclusion of Māori land in the project (Groundworks n.d. a:63). Many responses were in favour of adjoining landowner involvement in the project, citing they would contribute to it and grant land access, though some expressed concern at some loss of their land behind the project fence and wanted more consultation to occur with them (Groundworks n.d. a:65). Lastly, wide support was expressed for doing a restoration project on Maungatautari to re-establish lost flora and fauna there, and after was to some degree achieved, protect old Māori pā and marae sites and relate Māori's history of the area along with a general history (Groundworks n.d. a:21,44-46,68).

The consultation report does seem to reflect, for those who participated, wide support for the project's primary goals of fencing the mountain, clearing it of pests, restoring much of its biota and permitting some level of regular human presence via eco-tourism. Singularly, it permitted participating community members the chance to make their views heard on the idea of the project whilst at the same time developing their sense of engagement in, or connection to, the project. The process enabled participants to recognise the general, common ways they enjoyed Maungatautari and the way the project could satisfy their several needs vis-à-vis the ways they connected to and utilised Maungatautari. It also permitted several broadly-held concerns to be voiced: stakeholder involvement/land issues, long-term fence/project viability, uncertainty around the disposition of certain lands with the imminent NKK Treaty settlement, and the desire for more consultation and information dispersal. The CVMMP report itself does not analyse or comment on whether the public consultation was considered successful or not, or even by what measures it could be considered successful. However, in interviews with the Wallaces, Gordon Stephenson, Tao Tauroa, Taiapa Kara and some of the initial and longstanding landowner trustees, I was informed that the community consultation process

was satisfactory and did indeed build a groundswell of support. Further, regardless of who I interviewed or spoke with, either formally or informally, whether trustee, volunteer, or stakeholder representative, they all characterised the community participatory consultation as effective and productive. They each in their own way stated that the project would never have gone forward without it.

Adjoining Landowners Consultation

The portion of the project's community designated and known as adjoining landowners was engaged through a separate consultation. This designation reflects the fact that either their property adjoins Maungatautari reserve land, and therefore it would in time come to have the project fence adjoining their land, or that the project fence would need to traverse a portion of their property, effectively bringing it into the project. For most of these landowners, the proposed eco-island project and its fence meant that their farm operations would be impacted in some manner. For some farms the project's fence came to replace their stock fence at the rear of their paddocks, while in the case of other landowners, it merely became an additional stock fence along a 'road' at the rear of their paddocks. The 'road' mentioned here is a metalled road that also functions as the Xcluder fence foundation and the means by which the fence can be accessed, inspected, maintained, and repaired. In the course of these fence maintenance operations, carried out under the management of MEIT, employees and volunteers often travel on and through adjoining landowner property to access the fence or project. For all these reasons adjoining landowners' farm operations can be variously impacted by fence problems, the presence of people and vehicles on their land, and efforts to eradicate pests and re-establish endemic biota. Further, even before all of these regular operational interruptions, farmers weighed the potential impact and disruption on their farms during the fence's installation. As their land would be involved one way or another, and their business and lives affected as well, landowners were seen as having a special need to connect to the Trust in a particular way. Thus, adjoining landowners were viewed as people from the community who had a special relationship and position that guaranteed their input, and which was also weighted heavily.

The three consultative meetings held with adjoining landowners had the stated purpose of "identify[ing] the challenges in making the project work at the landowner level" (Groundworks a n.d.:4). The meetings, held in February 2002, sought landowner feedback in relation to three topics. First, they were asked to share the degree to which they felt the project was realistic, along with negative aspects they identified and any ideas to make it

more realistic (Groundworks a n.d.:4). Second, the landowners were asked to indicate on a map the places on Maungatautari they regularly accessed and used, along with the reasons for that use, be it for sourcing water, recreation, or some other farm or property related reason (Groundworks a n.d.:4). Lastly, they were asked to identify areas where it would be difficult to construct the fence (Groundworks a 2002:4). Additionally, landowners were asked to consider signing Memorandums of Understanding with MEIT, which would formalise a relationship between them and the Trust, as the project fence and fence works would be on their property, and signal their willingness support the project and work with the Trust (Groundworks a n.d.:4). The landowners at this meeting were also invited to attend a follow-up meeting which was held 14 April 2002 at trustee Bill Garland's property so they could all see a demonstration fence there. This was significant for a number of reasons. Garland is an adjoining landowner in the Kairangi area, and he and his wife's farm have the longest property border with the reserve/maunga of any adjoining landowner. Additionally, Garland was one of the founding trustees of MEIT, an experienced farmer, and a respected member of the community. Thus, it made sense for this capstone meeting of the adjoining landowner consultative process, showcasing the fence, to be held at his home and farm, as it likely shored up support among the other landowners and provided the project with an essential greenlight.

No data was located in regards to the outcomes of these three consultative meetings with adjoining landowners. Staff in the Trust's business office confirmed that a folder of landowner memorandums of understanding existed. In conversations with many of these landowners in the course of fieldwork I learnt that each in their own way worked with Xcluder and Trust personnel as required during the installation of the fence, and more than a few assisted in plotting more conducive fence paths. Tony Rolley, who acted as MEIT operations manager from 2009 to 2012, was the Trust's liaison to adjoining landowner liaison in the early years of the project. In conversations with him, he confirmed that every landowner worked with the Trust in regards to the fence installation. It is reasonable to conclude then that most, if not all, adjoining landowners supported the project to one degree or another and agreed to the fence and fence works on their property. Though they had concerns at times, fieldwork confirmed that at least until 2010, these were operational and situational concerns that variously arose in conjunction with fence and project operations, and were not concerns about the viability of the project or objections to its existence.

Mana Whenua/Iwi (Local Māori) Consultation

Just as the nascent Trust recognised the special relationship adjoining landowners have with Maungatautari, and were thus were afforded a special and separate opportunity to voice their concerns and ideas in relation to the mountain and the project, MEIT recognised that local Māori subtribes (Mana Whenua) also had special connections to, and rights concerning, Maungatautari. A formal consultation took place on 15 June 2002 on Pohara marae where between 80 to 100 participants were involved in a workshop meeting staffed by the same 20 facilitators used at the community consultation workshops (Groundworks b n.d.:1-3). Many of these participants were aware of the project and MEIT's consultations with the community and adjoining landowners, as they had occurred some months earlier. Also, they were made aware of and invited to this formal consultation at a preliminary *hui* (meeting) held two months prior at Maungatautari marae in April.

Given that 2000 acres of land on Maungatautari are owned by 2000 Māori landowners, other project stakeholders recognised the necessity of including local hapū and their views in order to inclusively and properly advance the project forward (Groundworks b n.d.:4). The consultation was designed to be participatory in nature so that they would be able to gather all the views of those attending, be they kaumatua (the senior males and females of the sub-tribe), middle-aged adults or young people. The primary aim for the meeting as stated by the Trust was to "find out whether the goals of the Trust (listed above in the Local Community Consultation subsection) complimented the role of Māori as kaitiaki" of Maungatautari, and if not, to find out what changes to the goals could help the Trust help Mana Whenua meet this role (Groundworks b n.d.:5). Additionally, the consultation was aimed at collecting their views of what should happen on the maunga, what they wanted to do on the maunga relative to the project, and compile a local history from both before and after the 1930 creation of Pohara marae (Groundworks b n.d.:5). Table 4.2 indicates the age and sex of participants, though the report adds that there were fewer males between 0 and 15 years old than was indicated in the table, and that some adults were not recorded, and that as such, there was in reality a little over 100 people who were consulted (no explanation is given for this incongruence) (Groundworks b n.d.:6).

Age and Sex of Māori Consultation Participants

Age	Male	Female	Total
0-15	38	6	44
16-25	2	0	2
26-45	8	3	11
46-65	6	9	15
66+	5	5	10
Totals	**59**	**23**	**82**

Table 2.2 Age and Sex of Māori Consultation Participants A breakdown by sex and age of local Māori participants in the consultation that took place on Pohara marae, 15 June 2002. If the figures are even remotely correct it displays a clear dominance of youth participants over adults. Taken from IVMMP Report/Groundworks b, page 6. Reproduced by author, data used by permission of MEIT.

From interviews with Ally Tairi and Tao Tauroa I learnt that at the time of this consultation and since, many hapū members and tribal members who own some land on Maungatautari, live either far from the marae throughout greater New Zealand or live abroad in places like Australia, and thus were not in attendance. Many of them were contacted by Ally over the phone to inform them of the project. This meant many calls to whanau in Australia, as she said there were a significant number of them there. However, Ally interated that her calls were to inform them of the idea of the project, not to gather any sort of formal or informal amalgamated representation of their views. To provide context, per the 2006 New Zealand national census (the census nearest the launch of the project), Māori living in New Zealand who self-presented by ethnicity, numbered 565,329, and by descent numbered 643,977 (New Zealand Census-Māori 2007:2). Those living in Australia as of 2001 numbered 72,920, and this grew to 92,917 by 2006, and to 128,430 in 2011 (Kukutai and Pawar 2013:17). Ally in an interview informed me that Ngāti Koroki Kahukura members number close to 50,000. If the figure was even 20,000, for argument's sake, the number consulted at this meeting, be it 82 or some figure just over 100, would statistically be far from representative or inclusive of the entire hapū.

A qualitative reproduction of this report is not easily tabulated or quickly summarised, but an overview will suffice for our purposes here. Pages seven through twenty-six provide the results of the Mana Whenua/Iwi consultation primarily through the use of twenty-one, multi-columned tables. Each table provides qualitative responses to aspects of the project or on Maungatautari the mountain itself, such as the Trust's stated vision, the possible economic benefits of the project, views on the effects it could produce, allowable levels of tourism, possible changes to hunting practices there, the reintroduction of species, the practice of

cultural harvest rights in relation to medicines or food, the use of poison bait, and more. The information was certainly most useful to the Trust and helped it build, at the least, some support from members of the Māori community who were more or less open to the project. It also provided a sense of where some Māori stood on various key issues and project aspects. However, it really became the foundation for a formal connection between Mana Whenua and other key stakeholder groups in the project. Even so, some caution should be taken with the report. The relatively low number of participants in relation to the total membership of the hapū means that the conclusions can only be seen as representing a fraction of hapū members. Further, the feedback collected primarily represents the views of those hapū members who reside in the area and who have some degree of regular marae participation. Not included are the views of those who live far from the mountain or marae in New Zealand or who live further afield in other countries like Australia. It is possible that their views could differ from those who live locally and/or regularly participate in marae life.

In relation to various topics and issues that MEIT presented, participants were able to provide feedback in their own open-ended responses under the headings of 'like' and 'dislike' and then qualify that response further as they saw fit and add corrective suggestions. Concerning the Trust's vision to remove all mammalian pests and restore the forest's biodiversity forever, some 'liked' it because they would be a good investment for the future of every stakeholder group, while others felt that the stated vision was too long/verbose, and still others felt that the 'forever' aspect of the vision was too unrealistic (Groundworks n.d. b:8). In relation to support for the project, it seems a majority felt it was a good idea, while detractors feared intrusions into their privacy and onto 'their' maunga (Groundworks n.d. b:9). In relation to the topic of the project's cultural significance, the 'likes' that were offered expressed the belief that the land was a part of them and that they, Mana Whenua, had the kaitiaki responsibility over it, while the 'dislikes' expressed several concerns: whether tikanga would or would not be observed; if wāhi tapu sites would be respected or be desecrated; and whether or not plants (considered taonga and descendants of the forest deity Tāne-mahuta) removed during project ground works and/or during the installation of the fence or tracks would be replanted elsewhere (Groundworks n.d. b:11).

In regards to the topic of Māori being involved in the management of the project and in facilitating education, 'likes', or favourable responses, included the idea that involvement at these levels would help Māori become better kaitiaki and enable them to lead the initiative (the project), and with their management, allow continued hunting of pigs and goats. Negative concerns, the 'dislikes', stressed the high numbers of unemployed local Māori, and

noted a concern that people from the other stakeholder groups would not directly, clearly, or in a timely fashion, communicate with Mana Whenua (Groundworks n.d. b:12). On the subject of the fence installation and maintenance, there were many 'likes' that did not articulate why they felt it was good, though a few linked it to future food availability, the prevention of further bush clearance by Pākehā, and the protection of birds under their stewardship (Groundworks n.d. b:13). The 'dislikes' revolved around the related concerns of who would pay for the costs associated with the fence, who would build it, and who would maintain it (Groundworks n.d b:13). With regards to the idea of eliminating all pests and reintroducing native species, there seems to have been broad and strong support which highlighted the desirability of having these taonga back again on Maungatautari (Groundworks n.d. b:14,17). There was also broad and clear support for bans on the use or presence of mountain bikes, motor bikes, fires, 4x4 activity, and horseback riding, and equally clear support for ecotourism initiatives (though this was tempered to a degree by concerns over decreased privacy for those living close to Maungatautari or its access points and the negative impacts related to high visitor volumes) (Groundworks n.d. b:18-23).

A few other topics were addressed in the consultation report, but those mentioned thus far represent the primary ones evaluated in the report and those which have the most direct relevance to this research. Aside from the report's tables, the report does not relate anything further. There was no discussion or analysis section included as part of it. There was no summary or conclusion either. In trying to locate such information I checked a PowerPoint presentation the Trust produced about the consultation and a pdf (portable document format) document labelled as a 2002-2003 presentation for central government, and found nothing related to a conclusive summary of the consultative process with Mana Whenua. In the central government presentation document, page seven of thirteen, there is a portion labelled 'Iwi' which relates some numerical estimates of past Māori residents on and around Maungatautari, the current number of marae associated with it presently, a nebulous statement relating that the maunga was important in pre-European times, and the assertion "There is total support from Raukawa" (MPCG Document: n.d.:7). No mention is made of Ngati Koroki Kahukura here or of any other hapū that has a connection with Maungatautari. Beyond this it only states that local iwi are identifying the 2000 local Māori landowners, that successful hui were held at NKK's two marae and that there was "Positive feedback from Māori owners" (MPCG Document: n.d.:7).

At least as it concerns Mana Whenua support, we do know that the Trust on 8 February 2002 (a date preceding the consultation with Mana Whenua/local iwi) received and recognised four duly appointed iwi trustees in Wallie Clark, Peter Tairi, Tao (Ted) Tauroa, and Warren McGrath (Payne 2011:13). Thus, it seems that some among the local hapū supported the nascent Trust and its project early on, and did so, before the formal participatory consultation with Mana Whenua, or they were at least, looking to protect their interests. Thus, the appointment of four iwi trustees does not mean that the consultation was to local Māori anything more than a beginning. The consultation report for local Māori should be considered in the same way every other consultation report should be viewed. They should only be viewed for what they are— a collection of qualitative responses on various topics and aspects, from a limited number of individuals, which provides some views of some members of local stakeholder groups, and their concerns, ideas, and perceptions as they concern Maungatautari and the project. They neither constitute an explicit nor tacit 'blank cheque' agreement with, nor equate a mandate for, the Trust. Thus, they are better seen as a preliminary indicator of where some sentiment rests on the topics discussed in the consultation and the foundation for an open and ongoing discussion and relationship between any stakeholder group and MEIT.

A Final Assessment

In aggregate, the three-pronged consultation process could be considered a success in that it produced a groundswell of support for the project throughout much of the community, and gathered a diverse array of input that provided a good sense of the relationship many people had with Maungatautari. Its greatest success is that it developed a number of individuals into project volunteers and set the foundation for formal stakeholder relationships with MEIT. However, it has since been recognised by many in the community and Trust that it merely constituted, and could honestly only ever be, a beginning. More and regular consultation between the community and project stakeholders is requisite to maintaining a healthy relationship. A notable weakness in the strength or representativeness of the consultation can be identified in the low numbers of participants in the Mana Whenua prong of it. Considering the proportion of land they would end up having behind the project's fence, and the allegedly large number of hapū members, the number that participated in the consultation and which were adults, is staggeringly low. Lastly, the consultation touched very little on the sociocultural values, beliefs and practices the various stakeholders may have had relative to activities they were accustomed to doing on Maungatautari and the effects the

establishment of a protectionist-oriented biodiversity reserve there would have on these activities. The consultation, despite limitations of time and money, garnered support from stakeholders throughout the community and if nothing else, enabled the project to move forward.

CHAPTER III

BICULTURALISM AND NEW ZEALAND SOCIETY

The latent potential for inter-cultural dissonance between New Zealand's core residents and founding peoples, Pākehā and Māori, and formal discourse and a preoccupation with achieving biculturalism, stems from the fact that their contemporary sociocultural milieu is derived from the unique and differing pasts of its peoples and the distinctive colonial experience they jointly created. A brief review of prehistory and history in New Zealand here is apropos. In A.D. 1642, when Abel Tasman approached New Zealand's western shores thinking he had found the hypothetical great southern continent of Terra Australis, Māori tribes were the only people there. By that time, Māori, whose ancestors were Polynesian, had lived in the archipelago for several centuries, with an initial colonising event likely between A.D. 800 and 900 (Walker 2004:28). They had developed a unique, overarching cultural form, marked by tribal and subtribe distinctiveness and differing dialects (Best 1952:96; Davidson 1992:3,6-7; King 2003:77; Orange 1989:5; Walker 2004:43,55-62). Following Captain James Cook's visit to the isles over a century later (A. D. 1769-1770), whalers and others began to increasingly frequent and/or relocate there. Many of the island's indigenous Māori peoples welcomed and immediately utilised Western technologies, crops and animals when they were introduced (Walker 2004:79). Despite these changes, Māori remained the sociocultural and demographic majority in the isles for many decades thereafter. However, foreign disease, such as the measles, influenza, scarlet fever and gonorrhoea produced epidemics among Māori to the extent that before 1840 there was a forty percent decline in their population and by the turn of the century they number 45,000 (Walker 2004:80-81). This population decline at the hands of disease displaced Māori tribal groups, and fuelled further social changes, but Māori did remain the predominant people of the islands until the 1860s.

Māori tribal life also changed in other ways. Through Missionary efforts, some learnt English, adopted foreign religions, and discontinued some aspects of their traditional lifestyle (e.g. polygyny among chiefs) (Alves 1999:11-15; Walker 2004:81-82,84-87). Altered ecologies and economies developed and new social dynamics emerged with the effect that the Māori sociocultural existence diverged onto an almost inescapable course. Certain Māori recognised that with these changes they were 'losing' themselves and their lands as they knew them (Alves 1999:11-15; Orange 1989:6; Young 2004:63). With an ever increasing

number of whalers, traders, missionaries and settlers coming to their shores, and many Māori engaging in trade and work in port towns, others recognised the need to enter into a formal arrangement with the British to protect the interests of both parties, establish the rule of law, and prevent any further French efforts to colonise there. This culminated in the 1835 Declaration of Independence of New Zealand, signed by thirty-four northern chiefs, and later the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty extended British citizenship to all Māori, enabled the systematised sale of land to settlers, and in one way or another, created the embryo of the modern nation of New Zealand (Durie 1998:176-177; Walker 2004:89-94; see Orange 1989). From 1840, death from foreign disease, internecine warfare made more deadly with introduced muskets, and conflict with British forces and settlers, precipitously reduced the Māori population and their collective presence and power in the isles over the remainder of the century (Alves 1999: 14,17; Smith 2005:34-39; Walker 2004:79-81; Young 2004:63). By the close of the nineteenth century Māori had become the marginalised minority in the young nation's society and had lost control of most of the country's land and resources (Orange 1989:56-63,68-71).

A Western, British sociocultural milieu dominated most of New Zealand society, and through time, it morphed into a unique, in-situ, settler-derived expression and configuration influenced in a measure by some Māori cultural aspects (Bell 2004:122; Hoey 2004:188,190,193; Smith 2005:30-32). Immigrants from the British Isles were largely from an educated urban middle class. In their home countries they never had the chance to own land. In coming to New Zealand, they had the chance to acquire land and through their own industry, earn a living far and above what they left in their home countries. As former urban dwellers, they retained myths of mountains, the sea and the wild, and hence held romanticised views of these places (Young 2004:147). In New Zealand, they no longer had the kinship networks and long-held family connections to a place they had enjoyed in their home country (Bell 1996:5). For all these reasons, ownership of land became paramount and central to reconstructing a sense of place or identity and creating a new nation (Bell 1996:5). Even so, they retained many aspects of British identity and culture, including foods, social rituals, customs, religion, language, views on land and resources, allegiance to the British Monarchy and more (Bell 1996:6). Some, not wanting to cope with 'barbaric' living conditions and being so far from home, returned to the United Kingdom, but those who stayed gradually became more attached: first through the need to survive, then economically as they got on their feet, and then emotionally and spiritually (Bell 1996:6).

British and European settlers brought, and continued to reply on, their cultural ways of gaining knowledge and interacting with the environment. Whilst still voyaging to New Zealand officers on a certain ship created the country's first philosophical society, the Literary and Scientific Institute of Nelson (Young 2004:71). Emblematic of those immigrating to New Zealand, this example and many others illustrate that those coming to New Zealand were educated, and wanted education, science and reason to "hit the ground running" (Young 2004:71). Scots with their Calvinism and other British immigrants brought up in the Church of England retained their creed's views of land and nature. Western science as a method of gaining knowledge and Darwinism's fatalistic views also influenced New Zealand thinkers and science in ways that curiously created a simultaneous regard for the country's natural uniqueness, the penchant to kill and preserve these endemic specimens confident in the knowledge they would soon be gone from the earth, and acclimatisation policy designed to transform the island's environment into the familiar and 'usable' (Young 2004:71-74; Smith 2005:54).

Due to the Treaty of Waitangi, from 1840 onward, Māori and all those who settled in New Zealand were governed in turn by successive colonial governments with appointed governors and later by a single chamber parliament. These systems of governance, and the economic systems they enabled and served, are distinctly Western in nature and Māori participation in them has meant that they have had to learn, or at least try, to operate within a Western sociocultural milieu. Conversely, settler New Zealanders have largely had no compelling reason to learn to operate within a Māori social environment, let alone learn of their culture. The differing beliefs and values between them, and the differences in tikanga, protocol, has contributed and does contribute to the problem of mistrust and misunderstanding between Māori peoples and other New Zealanders in government, and especially in relation to the management and use of the environment and natural resources (Durie 1998:24-25).

Settler New Zealanders and their descendants in New Zealand generally considered themselves to be New Zealanders of British descent. The term 'Pākehā' (a contested term, which some consider derisive and others do not), denotes, if anything else, the condition of not being Māori, and was originally perhaps used only by Māori, and then only infrequently, to refer to New Zealanders with British ancestry (Hoey 2004:191,193). It wasn't until Māori pushed Māori nationalism and asserted their cultural distinctiveness from the mid-1970s that 'Pākehā' emerged as an identity (Hoey 2004:191). However, many New Zealanders do not

use the term for themselves. Some I interviewed still prefer the term 'British New Zealander', or 'European', or simply, 'New Zealander'.

From the mid-1970s, a highly-educated, rising generation of Māori began a Māori cultural revitalisation. At the time Māori frustration reached a boiling point with a recently enacted law authorised and provided new means for the government to take more land from them. This was a continuance of a long pattern of successive governments ignoring or subverting Māori land and cultural rights. It fuelled a protest march or *hīkoi* in 1975 that saw Māori protestors travel the length of the North Island to arrive at the Parliament building in Wellington, and in 1977, a Māori (re)occupation of Bastion Point. Together, these protests successfully launched a revitalisation movement that brought wide attention to Māori grievances and ensured their concerns and Treaty of Waitangi claims for redress could no longer be ignored (Durie 1998:175; Hoey 2004:191; Smith 2005:228-229; Walker 2004:212-213). The passage of the 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act that same year created a tribunal committee tasked to hear, consider and provide recommendations to the government on ways it could make reparations based on lodged Māori claims (Alves 1999:57; Smith 2005:228-229). The Māori cultural revitalisation gained further momentum through a number of developments. This included efforts by Justice Durie to educate New Zealand's wider society of the Treaty's importance, and the passing in 1985 of an amendment to the Treaty Act that extended its reach retroactively back to A.D. 1840. Accordingly, other New Zealanders were becoming far more aware of the colonialized state and wrongs Māori had endured.

With Māori actively (re)asserting their sociocultural distinctiveness, New Zealanders with a predominantly British background and ancestry began to acknowledge a distinct Māori sociocultural existence, and in response also began to question and attempt to delineate their own identity and culture within the society (Bell 2004:126; Denoon and Mein-Smith 2000:374-389; Simpson 1992:572-573). Recalling what Goldsmith (2003b:6-7) asserted as discussed in the introductory chapter, Pākehā culture is unmarked, especially when juxtaposed to Māori culture and its accoutrements. This produces an uncertainty around identity and what exactly demarcates a Pākehā. Consequently, the efforts to configure cultural inclusiveness becomes awkward and complicated as Pākehā cannot easily determine what they should exactly bring to the table or contribute in exchanges meant to be inclusive. For all these reasons, social approaches related to inclusion, identity, cultural rights and more are and remain contested in New Zealand.

New Zealand Culturalisms

From the mid-1970s to the present many in New Zealand's post settler, postcolonial sociocultural milieu have debated and discussed what approach their society should take in relation to navigating interrelations with each other amidst the growing socio-economic and political clout of Tangata Whenua and increasing immigrant flows from Asia. These approaches, or 'culturalisms' as they have come to be known (Goldsmith 2002:90; Goldsmith 2003a:285) are social and policy paradigms or "complexes of ideas" that irreducibly take the form of powerful, sparring discourse in New Zealand. The three primary culturalisms in New Zealand are monoculturalism, biculturalism and multiculturalism. These sociocultural and socio-political approaches, which again are aimed at guiding or framing inter-cultural interactions in New Zealand, exist in the form of discourse, rhetoric, scholarly research and critique, and in some cases, official government policy. Much of the debate surrounding them revolves around which one would be best for New Zealand's contemporary society and thus should be adopted and pursued. Some are debated and discussed much more than others. One currently has the official backing of New Zealand's government. One, largely unchallenged, has predominantly existed and been in effect in New Zealand throughout modern times, though it is rarely mentioned. However, the terms monoculturalism, biculturalism, and multiculturalism are not unique to New Zealand, thus their use in a New Zealand context needs to be qualified.

Like elsewhere, each term in a New Zealand context is unique and remains contested, dynamic and nebulous, though some more than others (Spoonley et al. 1984:15). Existing primarily in the form of discourse and rhetoric, each is regularly contested, and thus they resist becoming static. Further they are conceptually linked to issues and debate surrounding national ideology, Treaty settlements, group rights and self-determination, social policy, and cultural politics. Consequently, there is no single, widely-accepted gloss for them, making any unqualified and unbounded use problematic (Barclay and Liu 2003:2; Goldsmith 2003a:285). Further, biculturalism in a New Zealand context becomes even more ambiguous or nebulous when what it means to be a Māori remains unclear, or it is unclear how one knows whether they *are* Māori or should identify as Māori, just as notions of what it is to be Pākehā remain nebulous and fluctuating (Matthews 1999:94-95; see Bell 1996). True to these assessments, which attest the existence of variegated interpretations of 'biculturalism', I detected varying meanings of 'biculturalism' among research participants (see chapter eight). Thus, it us useful to discuss these rather fluid concepts in connection to New Zealand's sociocultural milieu.

Monoculturalism and Multiculturalism in New Zealand

In a discussion on the condition of New Zealand society post-World War II, Walker (2004:389) explains how Māori, now more urbanised, were compelled to be bicultural in order to survive, while at the same time, Pākehā, being in the driver's seat of New Zealand society and in control of its economic systems, largely remained monolingual and monocultural. Māori had to operate in two spheres, while Pākehā were not obliged to do so. Māori existence increasingly became marked by a balancing act between the spheres, being able to only practise their culture in their homes and on marae. In most other situations they had to operate according to and within the norms of the predominant and otherwise ubiquitous Pākehā sociocultural milieu. Pākehā, in the main, existed and thrived in the tunnel-vision of their dominant culture, never having to learn Māori ways in order to survive (Metge 2001:2,5). Before this urbanisation, Tangata Whenua only had to operate in the dominant sociocultural milieu as needed. However, for a long time they had been the country's marginalised minority. After the land wars of the 1860s, the Tangata Whenua population was in a steep decline, whilst simultaneously settler and immigrant populations increased strongly. Until the post-WWII urbanisation, Tangata Whenua primarily resided outside of city centres or towns, occupying rural areas close to their marae and rohe. Thus, for the majority of New Zealand's existence since 1840, its predominant population has been non-Māori, and theirs has largely been a monocultural sociocultural existence (Goldsmith 2003a:285; Hazelhurst 1993:73).

Māori increasingly lived their lives in a Western-derived sociocultural sphere, where they often faced "paternalistic mono-cultural biases and assumptions" that persistently excluded or denied Māori perspectives (Sullivan 2003:224). Māori operating in this sphere would have lent credence to idea that they were indeed one people, with a hybridised identity and culture. Yet the dominant Western-based sociocultural milieu was at once foreign for Māori and familiar for settlers or Pākehā. For the latter, they conducted themselves and experienced life in a manner that either knowingly or unknowingly suppressed and/or marginalised Māori beliefs and traditions. Consequently, most remained ignorant of these beliefs and tikanga. New Zealand monoculturalism then is a pervasive and dominant European-settler derived, Western sociocultural environment that has been the actual lived experience of most New Zealanders. More than just marginalising, it does not even recognise the present 'other'. In this environment it is difficult to recognise the sociocultural distinctiveness that many Tangtata Whenua possess or assert. Advocacy for monoculturalism

denies the existence of the 'other', favours ethnocentric views, denies the sociocultural rights of the 'other', and seeks to maintain the status quo in terms of social power and influence.

There have been efforts to reduce the prevalence of monoculturalism, or drive a departure from it. One socio-political approach associated with this effort is multiculturalism. It competed for broad acceptance in New Zealand society and did gain a modest foothold in the country's political arena for a time (Larner 2006:139-140; Matthews 1999:93). The appeal of multiculturalism stems from its goal to emphasise and support all present cultural and ethnic groups. It is cultural pluralism. For those that wanted to get past fixations on any special place Māori should occupy in the society and more closely pursue a social dynamic in vogue with the metropole, this approach was at once compelling and able to downplay the role of the Treaty and present a picture of de-colonised, or at least post-colonial, state. However, multiculturalism was soon outcompeted or supplanted by 'biculturalism' due to the latter's powerful association with the Treaty, which itself was becoming ever more connected to official policy and law, and supported in popular discourse which framed it as the nation's founding document.

Multiculturalism came to New Zealand through the influence of various civil rights movements other countries experienced in the latter half of the twentieth century (Larner 2006:139). In essence, multiculturalism is a "self-conscious preoccupation with cultural difference and collective identity" (Hannerz, cited in Goldsmith 2003a:285). Within this approach, multiple peoples exist and live alongside one another with their distinct cultures. There is no mosaic of cultural aspects or hybridisation in this approach. Rather, compartmentalisation of the disparate cultural forms ensures cultural distinction, though an all-encompassing, broad collective identity is shared. This shared identity usually takes the form of a nationalistic identity. The labels 'kiwi' or 'New Zealander' are examples of terms that some in New Zealand endeavoured to generate a national identity around. Incidentally, some have endeavoured to convince others that multiculturalism evolutionarily follows biculturalism and that it has already arrived in New Zealand. However, Goldsmith (2003a:285) argues that any declarations to this effect would be hard pressed for wide and official acceptance; doing so would imply the aims of biculturalism (see the section to follow) have officially been achieved. In New Zealand, multiculturalism is linked to histories and imaginaries, and gains credibility from those linkages. The growing Chinese and Indian demographics make multiculturalism attractive to some in New Zealand, where inclusiveness is seen as intrinsically better or more advantageous than any narrow focus on New Zealand's first two peoples. Given that it recognises, even stipulates, cultural difference, and yet asserts

a unified, collective, unifying identify, multiculturalism would seem to be incompatible with or preclude any form of biculturalism.

New Zealand Biculturalism

In the introduction a short discussion was presented concerning the Treaty of Waitangi, its role in New Zealand's history, and its social and political significance over the past forty years in relation to law, land rights, conservation, and Māori self-determination. Recall how that in these more recent developments, principles were identified which were seen to be at the heart of the Treaty. Distilled to two core concepts they are: one) the existence of a special or primary relationship between Māori and the Crown (read New Zealand at large, its society and government); and two) the responsibility to honour this relationship through special regard and protection for Māori rights, culture and language by way of partnership (Alves 1999:65; Durie 1998:28-29; Walker 2004:66, 268). Recognition and application of these principles brought about procedures and efforts to create a bicultural society, or at least one more considerate of Māori beliefs, values, taonga and rights.

For all these reasons, the Treaty of Waitangi, and subsequent Acts connected to it, came to simultaneously encompass social concerns and debate over New Zealand's past and future, while becoming the articulation point for a reassessment of the relationship between New Zealand's core sociocultural groups and a reified history (Walker 2004:391). Biculturalism became government policy under the premise that it was "a fundamental characteristic of New Zealand's heritage and identity" (Božić-Vrbančić 2003:295; see www.govt.nz), which, by way of rhetoric, is justified by the notion that the country is founded upon a recognition of a long and historical interaction between two peoples, Māori and Pākehā (Božić-Vrbančić 2003:295; Matthews 1999:104; see also Larner 2006:131-132,139-140; Walker 2004:389).

The official government gloss of 'biculturalism' and other conceptions of it seem unable to clarify it, but instead mystify it further. An official motto projects biculturalism as a celebration of cultural diversity: "We are One nation, two peoples and many cultures" (Božić-Vrbančić 2003:295; Matthews 1999:93; see www.govt.nz). In the socio-political sphere this translates to "the diverse out-workings of partnership between those identifying as Māori, the Crown, and others in society", which is of course founded in, and linked to, historical and contemporary interpretations of the Treaty (Barclay and Liu 2003:1) As nation-building discourse, official biculturalism seems quite able to produce a schizophrenic social space, and more so when other ideas of 'biculturalism' emerge or challenge it. This reflects

the reality of New Zealand society. For one, you have the commonplace view of the term which recognises the morpheme, 'bi', denoting two, which emphasises separation and distinctiveness, prompting an inward identity examination that constructs or reinforces sociocultural and ethnic boundaries, precluding the hybridisation of Pākehā and Māori lifeways and the formation of new identities and cultural practices that build bridges and unify (Barth 1969:15; Bell 2004:127). Moreover, Māori themselves are not *one*, but many, with numerous tribes and subtribes (Alves 1999:65-66). Nor can Pākehā be considered thoroughly uniform and homogeneous. A majority of settlers came from England and Scotland, and smaller groups came from various European countries and areas, meaning a sociocultural homogeneity between them all could not exist then or be immediately produced thereafter. However, a unique in-situ society was created over time, which emphasised their shared or interlacing histories, their self-reliance, their citizenship, and New Zealand's place in the world (King 2003:513; Walker 2004:389).

Importantly, discourse around biculturalism, if unexamined and taken at face value, masks the differing viewpoints and lived experiences those in New Zealand's society possess, whether they lived in its past or reside in its present: repressed histories of colonization, racial violence, the trauma of colonisation, separation from imagined homelands, immigration control, discrimination, and more (Bell 1996:5-6; Božić-Vrbančić 2003:300-303; see also Vasil 2000). In other words, a uniform view of various aspects of New Zealand's shared history does not exist despite discourse to the contrary that supports biculturalism. Tangata Whenua have experienced colonization, and through it, have seen themselves go from the dominant people of the land to a marginalised people, a distant second to Pākehā settlers. Some Māori individuals and groups integrated in the overlaying and dominant Pākehā society, using its laws, mechanisms and ways as it suited them, whilst others ultimately rejected it based on its unfair treatment of Māori. Some tribes and groups adopted the agricultural and economic practices of settlers, growing foreign crops and fruit, even milling wheat for flour, as was seen around Auckland and even at Maungatautari (Clark and Tairi 1992:9-19; Young 2004:63). In another example, some unilaterally gained legal ownership over what was tribal land through the land court's processes to the detriment of relatives: they exercised their newly gained legal 'right' and alienated whanau land for personal profit (Walker 2004:136-137). Wiremu Te Wheoro over his lifetime served in several public offices and positions within the political administration of the day, including a magistrate, militia captain, Native Land Court assessor, Māori commissioner, and Parliamentarian, only to repeatedly become disillusioned with the systemic oppression of Māori by the New Zealand

government (Walker 2004:163). Some, under various social and financial machinations concocted by land agents, lawyers, speculators and even storekeepers, became their pawns and reluctantly sold whanau land right from under their relatives, though they lacked the iwi/hapū held right to do so (Walker 2004:136-138). Still others who became embittered with the dominant society, having recognised the systemic mistreatment of Māoridom, came to oppose it through indirect and direct means, such as home-grown prophet inspired/led anti-missionary efforts and other Māori religious movements, and rebellions such as the Hauhau rebellion or Te Kooti's Ringatu faith-inspired resistance (Walker 2004:129-134,163). The experience of colonisation, which characteristically oppressed, dehumanised and marginalised Māori peoples, was a dividing and turbulent one for the islands' tribes and subtribes.

In the case of New Zealand's European settlers, their experiences in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were also diverse and accosting, though in other ways. Over generations, as they worked to build new lives for themselves, they increasingly struggled with an identity crisis, viewing the homelands of their parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents as their own while simultaneously trying to create such a link for themselves in New Zealand (Matthews 1999:98-101; Bell 2004:122; Bell 1996:5-7). The land at first was quite unfamiliar to them, with its unique and different plants and animals, and unfamiliar climate and reversed seasons. Efforts began nearly immediately to transform it into the familiar with the introduction of plants and animals from Europe and through the influence of acclimatisation societies. While this helped in one sense, they could never artificially or instantly recreate something they left behind. Compared to Māori, they lacked the kinship networks and long-term associations with any one place that otherwise help to establish identity (Bell 1996:5; Hoey 2004:188). Further, given the nature of colonisation in this time period, with its rudimentary communication and transportation, most settlers, from various European locales and cultures, who were spread all over the country along its rivers, lakes and shores, were socially isolated from one another, making it difficult, if not impossible, for settlers to develop any sense of collective identity (Bell 2004:131; Bell 1996:5). It makes sense then that what identity emerged among settlers was one that was linked to their growing relationship with, and dependence on, the land (Bell 1996:5). With the advent of refrigerated shipping, which meant that meat raised in New Zealand could be sold in Britain, New Zealand became "Britain's farm", and this for many renewed and reinforced linkages to the United Kingdom (Bell 1996:5)

British and other European settlers may have held a clear former national identity, but it was one from their "home", where they had come from (Bell 1996:6). They did bring elements of their former identity, including their language, social rituals and traditions, food and production habits, and the way they were accustomed to interacting with the land. Even so, many found it difficult to make a new life in New Zealand and returned home. Those who stayed continued to rely on the customs, values, and practices they learnt from parents, family and/or the communities they left behind (Bell 1996:6). British and Scottish settlers' reliance on the national identity of the British Empire, and on the cultural ways and educational foci of their "home", maintained links to it through increased agricultural commerce and finance. This retarded the development of any other unifying, in-situ identity among settlers (Bell 1996:5-7).Over time this settler society grew and its sociocultural configuration changed slightly, and to one degree or another, assimilated Māori and appropriated some of their culture as symbols of their supposedly unified national culture (e.g. the establishment of Waitangi Day and its observance on the Waitangi Marae, or before this, the showcasing of Māori performing the pōwhiri, wero and haka at state functions or the All Blacks national rugby team performing it themselves before a test) (Bell 2004:131; Hoey 2004:191-192).

However, even taking into account the variegated experiences of, and within, the two groups, many still portray these two core "founding" peoples of New Zealand as two "streams" that early in New Zealand came to run together into a single stream, but which now concertedly exclude, and portray all other ethnicities as 'locked', ever unchanging and ever unable to combine with the one stream comprised of two (Božić-Vrbančić 2003:300-301; Matthews 1999:97; Walker 2004:389-390). In this construct, other ethnicities who have been in New Zealand, or who relocate to it, will never be part of the Two, but are of the Many and help comprise the One (the nation). Thus, it reinforces this official stance of 'biculturalism' in New Zealand.

However, there are other permutations of 'biculturalism' in New Zealand. Growing societal recognition of a Māori presence in the country, in tandem with the erosion of a paternalism associated with assimilation, led to wider acknowledgment that Māori did indeed have their own cultural ways, and intended to perpetuate them. This required a re-articulation of the nation's relationship with Māori to produce provisions that would respect and protect their culture and interests (Hoey 2004:191; Matthews 1999:93,120). Recognition of a real bicultural society, that is, a society that is composed of two peoples from two ultimately different origins (in this case Polynesia and Europe/Western civilisation), matured into a recognition that the bi-cultural society *needed to be* 'bicultural'. This requires Pākehā to

realise or acknowledge that to survive, many Māori have had to straddle two worlds, while Pākehā never had to cross the cultural divide to survive (King 2003:513; Walker 2004:389-390). In this sense, the nation's society needed to change so that Māori could practise their culture on their terms. Further, it would need to foster positive public perceptions of it, ensure its survival, and embed it within the wider society. A few particular developments can be associated with this form of biculturalism including the introduction of Māori language television programming, the designation of Te Reo as an official language, the use of Te Reo and English on government buildings and signs and in public documents, brochures, et cetera. This biculturalism asserts that the *Two* are not *One*, and cannot culturally be, *One*. It also incorporates an explicit call to produce measures which permits each group to practise their culture more freely in society (this necessarily applies more to Tangata Whenua as they are the colonised, the indigenous minority in the country and its society).

Others have professed nuanced or slightly differing views of biculturalism. The late Ranginui Walker, who identified as Māori and who was a lifelong educator, professor, academic, administrator, writer, and member of the Waitangi Tribunal, saw biculturalism in a matter-of-fact way that is more properly detected in relation to an individual. Situated in the sociocultural domain, it is the notion that Māori and Pākehā have come to co-exist side by side in what he deems a symbiotic relationship, albeit one that is asymmetrical (Walker 2004:389). The asymmetry exists because Māori have had to learn and function within two cultural spheres to survive: their own and the larger and dominant Pākehā/national culture (Walker 2004:389). For this reason he declared Māori to be bicultural, while Pākehā, who are not, and never have been, under the same imperative, are monocultural (Walker 2004:389). Walker (2004:389-390) pointed out examples at the individual scale, such as marriage, where some have taken it upon themselves to venture into the sociocultural milieu of their partner, and reach a bicultural state by learning about and understanding Māori values and customs to the point where they feel comfortable participating in Māori cultural settings. Thus, his view of biculturalism focuses on the individual, and does not paint everyone in each group with a broad brush. It stresses a biculturalism that an individual can attain thereby enabling them to competently operate in either sociocultural domain.

Robert Sullivan, a poet, professor, and writer, provides an interesting alternative view of the domain biculturalism occupies in a journal article that outlines his assessment of Māori–Pākehā relations. In his view, their relations are, irreducibly, situated in the socioeconomic sphere more than anything else. After first detailing his multicultural heritage, and then stating that he has strong Māori and Irish roots along with some English and

Scottish ancestry, he writes that biculturalism is "a compromise interpretation of the Treaty agreement between Māori and the rest of the community…" (Sullivan 2006:10). He explains that it is a begrudging conciliatory commitment to reasonably act in good faith with one's Treaty partner more than anything else (Sullivan 2006:10). This biculturalism, in his view, pertains to the core partnership principle in the Treaty, wherein Maori interests are, in good faith, to be protected via a relationship of cooperation and protected from powerful, vested interests, which underscores an urgent need for the involved parties to get past mere introductions and labels, and come to really know one another (Sullivan 2006:10-11).

New Zealand anthropologist Joan Metge has in her work documented and distilled her view of an implementable biculturalism. She relates how Hoani Waititi, during assimilationist times, endeavoured to bolster inter-ethnic/cultural support for a measure intended to increase Māori youth graduation rates. He argued that Māori and Pākehā, bound by the Treaty and their shared history, could come together and enjoyably partner and achieve common goals by both respecting and trusting one another, as well as by recognising their differences (Metge 2001:1). Doing this would help them all not only reach their common goals, he asserted, but help them to learn more about each other and have fun in the process (Metge 2001:1). Utilising Waititi's view of partnership, she advances a number of points and suggestions which would help Māori and Pākehā (in this case everyone who is not Māori) realise what actions needs to be changed, and then determine what they can do together to build a bicultural sphere of partnership in meetings and in joint endeavours (Metge 2001:3-6). It is evident, given her book was intended as a guide to produce constructive and culturally-sensitive interaction amidst heterogeneity, she feels people can create a partnership that is an applied biculturalism, and one most suited to social venues and organisations. Hers then is an pragmatic biculturalism that challenges Māori and Pākehā in organisations and businesses to trust one another, learn about each other's sociocultural differences, and permit these aspects to be expressed in the pursuit of commonly identified goals.

Another view of biculturalism, not too dissimilar from Metge's, sees it as a matrix wherein Māori and Pākehā co-exist in dignity and which makes it possible for those involved to "begin to respect and relish each other's languages, cultures, and ways of life" (Vasil: 2000:1). It allows for Māori educational mores and modalities, held especially in the practice of their language, to exist alongside Western-based Pākehā-focused conventions in the educational environment (Vasil 2000:19). This view, if implemented, would: one) help Māori to help Pākehā in their cultural identity (re)construction effort; two) effect changes in

governmental institutions that would in perpetuity protect a Māori democratic minority voice in the country: three) find a way to help Māori gain a direct media outlet to all Māori in New Zealand, and: four) help erode media partiality and insensitivity toward Māori and "their" issues, which are in fact relevant to the entire country (2000:37-41,54-58). Similar to Metge, Vasil's prescription initially is nebulous but becomes concrete with the idea to include Māori educational methods, values, and language alongside existing conventions.

Another variation of biculturalism views it as a social process in relation to the resolution of difference between Māori and Pākehā, but at the expense of ignoring other cultural and ethnic groups in New Zealand (Matthews 1999:97). However, this process is patently affected by shifting identities in relation to changing referents. Pākehā exertions to 'find themselves' in reaction to the Māori revitalisation is one example of this. Initial Pākehā identify referents were politically-derived nationalism, and an espoused land and an environmental ethic (Matthews 1999:98-101; Bell 1996:5). In this biculturalism, there are normative ideals and processes for each variegated group and an overarching process that "represents a concerted effort on the part of political leaders and the 'attentive' public alike to create new political and cultural frameworks and relationships that are more in tune with the realities of the day" (Matthews 1999:120). In this working out of new political and cultural frameworks and relationships, cultural identity is reinforced, with new, jettisoned, or additional referents, with Māori culture increasingly entering public and private institutions, and a new coalescing New Zealand identity, bicultural in nature, emerging from a large "middle area where the two cultures meet and interact" (Matthews 1999:126-127,175). In this process and expression, individuals and groups can have both multiple and shared identities (Matthews 1999:183). Thus, it is about mutual recognition, the location of common ground and recognizing differences, and choosing to focus on the "greater commonality between them" with the result that they all can lay claim to being bicultural, or to be in the process of becoming so, when itself becomes an identity referent (Matthews 1999:185).

CHAPTER IV

CONTEXTUALISING CONSERVATION ON MAUNGATAUTARI

New Zealand, Global Conservation and a Changing World

Maungatautari, as a biodiversity conservation project, is better understood by first understanding why many viewed it as necessary in the first place. New Zealand is considered one of the world's top biodiversity hotspots, yet one where much of the endemic biota has gone extinct and many species remain threatened. This is so for a number of reasons related to the geological origins and geophysical location of the islands and the cumulative actions of those humans that came to live there. Geologically, New Zealand is a portion of continental crust that separated from the supercontinent of Pangea 200 million years ago, called the Gondwana landmass. This landmass, which broke apart into Africa, South America, India, Antarctica, Australia, and the submerged landmass New Zealand lies on, called Rangitata or Zealandia (Campbell and Hutching 2007:16,22-23,37,72,117; Craig et al. 2000:62; Fleet 1986:1,71; King 2003:21; Kirkpatrick 2005:Plate 13,14; Park 1995:13).

Due to its separation from Gondwana and Australia between at least 83 and 65 million years ago, and its constant movement against the opposing Pacific tectonic plate, New Zealand literally is a "remote evolutionary raft" (Warne 2002:75). It remains geologically active with volcanism, fault lines and earthquakes, making it a topographically diverse and dynamic set of islands (Bellamy and Springett 1990:71,85; Campbell and Hutching 2007:37,117; Kirkpatrick 2005:Plate 14; Warne 2002:83; Young 2004: 21-22). Consequently, species that survived there from Gondwana and/or subsequently floated or flew there, and survived extant evolutionary pressures became New Zealand's endemic species (e.g. the patently odd terrestrial-bound kiwi bird, the extremely large cricket-like wētā insect, or the silver fern plant) (Bellamy and Springett 1990:14; Campbell and Hutching 2007:119-120,210; Park 1995:13; Fleet 1986:3; Redman 1999:68-70). However, following Polynesian colonisation between A.D. 700 and 1200, and later with European colonisation in the 1800s, the landscape and ecosystem was quickly and drastically changed. A single metric illustrates this. Post human presence and colonisation New Zealand's forest cover went from 78 percent of its land area to just 23 percent (Craig et al. 2000:63; Fleet 1986:72; Smith 2005:14; Warne 2002:86).

Related to this, New Zealand has one of the highest land converted-to-pasture ratios at 50 percent, twice the world-wide average (Bellamy and Springett 1990:139; Craig et al. 2000:65). Human landscape change began with Māori settlement. They modified land, forests and wetlands by fire and other means to suit agricultural, hunting and other needs. European settlers continued and amplified the processes Māori initiated. After 1840, a growing European presence in New Zealand brought an accelerated clearing of large tracts of land for sheep, cattle, and agricultural farming, hastening the decline and loss of New Zealand species through habitat loss and competition for resources. Collectively, habitat loss, human hunting and the introduction of foreign species— in particular mammalian and marsupial animals such as the stoat, rat and cat and the Australian possum— produced a cascade of species loss and severe population declines (Craig et al. 2000:61, 63, 68-69; Smith 2005:14; Young 2004:13; see Warne 2002).

Maungatautari, though not a steep or tall mountain, largely was spared from these processes. Its topography was too rugged to be widely and efficiently used for agriculture or stock farming. By the end of the twentieth century, however, Maungatautari was encircled by stock and dairy farms that characterise the region. Largely due to the presence of pest animal species like the stoat and possum, and the loss of similar habitat throughout the region, its forests became nearly bereft of any detectable endemic wildlife. The North Island *kokako* waddle bird (*Callaeas wilsoni*) persisted nearly to the end of the 20th century, with some sightings reported in the 1980s. What remained, insofar as science knew at the time, were a few pockets of kereru alongside a few acclimatised and foreign species. Birds such as the North Island Brown Kiwi (*Apteryx mantelli*), *kaka* (*Nestor meridionalis*), red- and yellow-crowned *kakariki* (*Cyanoramphus novaezelandiae* and *Cyanoramphus auriceps*), and *korimako* (*Anthornis melanura*, the Bellbird), giant and banded varieties of the *kokopu* fish, and the endemic and ancient reptile, the *tuatara* (*Sphenodon punctatu*), were, along with other endemic and native species, no longer present on Maungatautari.

Protected Area or Fortress Conservation

Modern attempts at ecological and biodiversity conservation stem from concerns about the negative consequences of unchecked landscape change amidst modern modes of agriculture, production, and resource use and acquisition. In times past, though individuals or in small groups many have in one way or another recognised the harm that could befall them and animals due to localised ecological and landscape change as a result of resource overuse and/or extensive land modification, or those later that with the adoption of intensive,

commoditised agricultural production and manufacturing realised human health and environmental dangers, there was no united, global awareness of these problems and challenges. However, a wider global sense and understanding of these issues began to coalesce from 1864 through the writings of American George Perkins Marsh in his book *Man and Nature.* In what came to be a seminal book, he linked drastic landscape change and forest clearing to the degradation of civilisation. In the United States, his work touched off a movement to protect so-called wild spaces which influenced the creation of modern national parks. Marsh's ideas and warnings prompted many around the globe to consider their patterns of land and resource use and humanity's role in affecting the environment. This was no different in New Zealand, where even earlier calls for caution and wise use of the environment occurred decades previously set the stage for a warm reception of Marsh's work (Young 2004:62,67-72,74).

New Zealand's Maungatautari project is touted as a one of the southern hemisphere's most significant conservation projects. Indeed, compared with other examples of fortress conservation it is unique and presently claims the title of the largest of its kind— those that features a pest-proof fence— in the world. Most fortress conservation takes the form of protected areas which restrict humans in one way or another from living, hunting or raising animals in them (Townsend 2009:93-94). Protected areas often are designated as national parks, game reserves, national monuments, forest reserves or state parks of one sort or another, and in common, regulate human interference (Brockington et al. 2008:1; Townsend 2009:93-94). Some modern examples of the first of their kind include the Bogd Khan Mountain Park in Mongolia, created in 1778, and Yellowstone, the United States' first, national park created in 1872, and New Zealand's first entry into this category came with the creation of the Abel Tasman National Park in 1942 (Brockington et al. 2008:19; Young 2010:35).

The idea and practice of protecting areas is not a modern development however. In many forms around the globe, areas were previously set aside for a number of reasons and purposes, including personal game reserves in India circa A.D. 1274, or others for the protection of elephants far earlier there in the fourth to third century B.C. (Brockington et al. 2008:19). Other examples for the preservation of game for hunting, or the preservation of nature or forest protection can be found anciently in England, Indonesia, China, the Roman Empire and even earlier in the Babylonian, Assyrian and Persian Empires (2008:19-20). However, there are some caveats to these 'histories' that need to be acknowledged. For one, most histories of protected areas are those produced from what large and powerful state level

societies have done. This hides the many examples of various forms of conservation that smaller societies have done in the course of preserving needed resources for survival and/or areas considered sacred (Brockington et al. 2008:20). These examples are manifold, so much so that space here does not permit their inclusion except for one notable and perhaps quite relevant example: Māori did practise sustainable harvesting of various animals, including the mutton bird or the huia, managing them and their habitats through the utilisation of varying beliefs and practises connected to kaitiakitanga (Brockington et al. 2008:20; Young 2004:94). Elsewhere through time and all around the globe, indigenous peoples did in many instances learn and then employ strategies and customs that sustainably managed and hence protected animals, plants, resources and places for future use and reliance.

Two, many of the more formal histories of conservation, linked to nation-states, have myths about them which conveniently reinforce ideals associated with conservation itself. Collectively, these histories and their myths obfuscate or diminish the ways in which protected area conservation marginalises, dispossesses, disempowers and/or suppresses those (i.e. indigenous peoples) that have traditionally lived in and/or used areas which are then put into state-sponsored conservation (Adams 2003:19-20,26-27; Brockington et al. 2008:19, Brosius et al. 2005; Nygren 2003:33-49; Novellino 2003:179,181). "Protecting" areas always involves relations of power and control. It necessarily involves politics. Those who come to control and enforce resources and their use, gain power over others who also have been utilising the environment or who wish to do so. This often takes the form of suppressing indigenous peoples in the name of conservation and inhibiting the practise of various aspects of their culture, especially when their views and practices are not properly taken into account (Anderson and Bergland 2003:5; Novellino 2003:185-186). Thus, if we are to peruse these "histories" of modern conservation, we need to be mindful of what they exclude and peddle.

Modern conservation has also evolved in a number of ways, one of which was already introduced above, the use of community-based conservation, and two, the increasing presence of capitalism in conservation. From the mid-1990s, community-based natural resource management and conservation gained increasing socio-political credence and was increasingly applied and attempted around the globe (Agrawal and Gibson 2001:4-5; Tsing et al. 2005:1-2). Both sets of authors further explain that the rationale behind the popularity of community-based conservation and resource management stemmed from the idea or notion that management by those most close to, and who rely on, certain resources and areas, who then have a direct and vested interest in them, could manage them better then states, corporations, or multilateral agencies. Further they could be relied on to be good stewards of

those resources and provide redress for the dispossession and marginalisation indigenous peoples have suffered. Buttressing calls for this type of conservation, is the realisation, based on a good deal of research, that communities over time cannot be thought of as merely despoilers of natural resources or the environment; though they alter environments and sometimes overuse resources, over time their use pattern is largely sustainable (Agrawal and Gibson 2001:6). Through this form of conservation then, new versions of environmental and social advocacy, fuelled by the goals to curtail or reverse environmental degradation and address social inequity, are compellingly linked with environmental management and social justice (Tsing et al. 2005:1).

Tangential to this is the concept of 'community'. The term 'community', when thought of as a small spatial unit, characterised by a homogenous social structure, and composed of members who share common interests, perceptions, goals and norms, is too confining, inaccurate, and ultimately obstructive in the development of policy and management practices for community-based conservation (Agrawal and Gibson 2001:7-12). Rather a community, spatially, is more porous and large, and can include persons from differing ethnicities, languages and sociocultural backgrounds, and accordingly, have peoples and individuals who espouse variegated interests and norms (both of which can change over time), some of which are shared, and some not (Agrawal and Gibson 2001:7-12).

The other and somewhat surprising change to conservation, including those configured in the community-based model, is the integration of capitalism and conservation (Brockington et al. 2008:1-2; Igoe 2010:375-376; Tsing 2005:29-31). Between 1985 and 1995 there was a phenomenal increase in the number of protected area conservation which, when set against the fact that over this time period neoliberal economic policies dominated the seats of power globally, raises a surprising question that in its answer reveals new trend or configuration. Could there be a cause and effect relationship between free market capitalism and the surge of conversation areas globally? The question at first thought seems absurd, especially given the fact that some conservation projects were created expressly to limit development, with much of it achieving success (Brockington et al. 2008:1-2). Brockington, Duff and Igoe (2008:1-2) allow that it is possible that conservationists worked hard to find capitalist expansion and development, in essence, rising to the challenge, in what can be categorised as a confrontational stance against it. Another explanation they explore is the rational, compromising approach conservationists could have taken in order to work with those in power. However, they dismiss both explanations and assert that capitalist policies, and even perhaps neoliberal policies and values, "pervade conservation practice" and in some

areas of the globe, infest it. They offer Laos as a prime example. The World Bank, at the time of their writing, was supporting a US$50 billion dollar multi-dam project on the Mekong River. The dams were designed to generate electricity for the country and neighbours, but in doing so, will put under water thousands of square kilometres of lowland tropical rainforest (2008:3). The International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) both were supporting and aiding this project, a surprising fact especially given the loss of forest that would ensure and that WWF had in the 1980s helped organise protests against the Xingu Dams. The reason for their support stems from what they would get out of it: the creation of new protected areas in Laos highlands that despite the dam project's destruction would drastically increase the country's protected area network, especially given it had little to begin with. Many other such projects feature the alliance of conservation groups and governments and corporations as the latter seek to undertake and implement development and offset the environmental damage that will be caused with protection elsewhere, and remuneration, development and ecotourism work for locals (2008:3-4; see also Igoe 2010:376). Together, the authors explain, they are re-categorising the landscape, modifying the societies that live close to "valuable" nature, changing attitudes to wildlife and landscape, tourism and tourist and host expectations, the introduction and presence of markets, and ultimately commodifying nature. This hand-in-hand approach has gained credence globally as the better way to achieve conservation goals (Igoe 2010:376), though others assert that conservation success anywhere, and true protection of the planet for the future , will come from an awareness of the global, a keen sense of one's ecological footprint, the rejection of complacency, a refusal to not neglect what exists outside of protected areas, cooperation forged in contestation and struggle, and the (re)connection of the individual with the wild (Anderson and Bergland 2003:8; Brockington et al. 2008:17; Ostrom 2001:xi; Young 2010:36).

Land Changing Hands: Societal Change in Colonial New Zealand

By the close of the 1830s, many Māori, as well as British settlers and officials, recognised the need for a formal agreement between their peoples to establish order and demarcate each other's rights and privileges in relation to one another, especially as British military and settler numbers increased and the interest of foreign powers in New Zealand's land and resources became more apparent. This culminated in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty made Māori British citizens provided them protection from other nations, and both legalised and made possible, a growing British presence in New Zealand through the

legal sale of land. Thereafter, sociocultural and ecological change in New Zealand accelerated, setting the stage for New Zealand's contemporary societal configuration and the creation of an alien landscape on the isles.

Overall, the first fifteen years following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi brought prosperity for many tribes and fostered economic expansion (Walker 2004:99). With an increasing number of settlers and their desire for arable land, Governor Hobson sought in earnest to help them gain land and yet respect the rights of Māori (Walker 2004:105). He appointed "Protectors" to oversee the sale of Māori land and ensure transactions were consensual and accurate in terms of who had the right to sale— a practice which continued under the watchful eye of Governor Fitzroy (Walker 2004:105). Māori, however, were collectively weakened by successive epidemics of foreign disease. Additionally, inter-tribal warfare during the 1820s, made all the more deadly with European muskets compared to indigenous weapons, further weakened tribes and subtribes, began to sell land for resources and protection offered by settlers (Smith 2005:37-39). The Māori population had already fallen 40 percent by the time the Treaty was signed and yet still outnumbered Pākehā settlers fifty to one (Alves 1999:25; Walker 2004:80). By 1850, however, the number of settlers and soldiers in New Zealand equalled that of a diminished and weakened Māori population— a fact both parties were keenly aware of (Alves 1999:25; Smith 2005:37-39).

A stark change in British colonial government relations arrived with the installation of George Grey as governor in 1845. Following Governor Fitzroy's uneven dealings, failed military campaigns and political missteps with dissenting and disenfranchised Māori, he was recalled and Grey was given the appointment (Walker 2004:101-103). Unlike those before him, Grey did not share much concern for Māori and their rights; he had enough military power behind him to put down dissent and sufficient funds to buy up Māori land (Alves 1999:25; Walker 2004:103,105). Māori did at this time still hold the majority of land in the country and as a society had re-stabilised enough by this time that they were raising enough crops to support themselves and bolster the economies of numerous towns (Alves 1999:25; Walker 2004:99-100; Young 2004:63). This state continued until the wars of the 1860s. Erstwhile European settlers, arriving in ever increasing numbers, were frustrated: they had come to New Zealand under the idea that they were to be landowners, and found Māori by and large unwilling to sell land (Alves 1999:25; Walker 2004:99-100; Young 2004:63). They had travelled halfway around the globe to make a new life and, having arrived, found little land and resources with which to do so. Representing the experience of many, Alves relates (1999:25) that some settlers were told in a speech before they left Britain that "they were by

nature a colonizing people to whom God had assigned the uninhabited portions of the globe". (Never mind that New Zealand was already inhabited by Māori; perhaps the speechmaker didn't see Māori as 'inhabitants' on par with their own large-scale society or even as people, or was unaware that indigenous people already lived there). Joseph Somes, a settler of the time, intimates a viewpoint of the Treaty and Māori that many settlers likely shared and which Alves (1999:25) in relating it, uses as a brush (though perhaps too easily) to paint all settlers as "arrogant": "[w]e have always had very serious doubts whether the Treaty of Waitangi, made with naked savages by a consul invested with no plenipotentiary powers, without ratification by the Crown, could be treated by lawyers as anything but a praiseworthy device for amusing and pacifying savages for the moment" (see also Orange 1989:44-45). Whatever may have been the personal views of settlers, it is clear they were intent on obtaining land that was promised to be available, and likely came to view the Treaty, which first enabled European colonisation there, as an impediment in so far as it protected Māori land rights and daunted their efforts at obtaining land and starting a new life there.

Governor Grey, determined to fulfil settlers' needs, viewed Hobson's Māori land "Protectors" as an obstruction, abolished them, and set up a new cadre of officials to facilitate the alienation of land from Māori into Crown hands for settlers to purchase (Walker 2004:105-106). Between 1846 and 1860 Grey and his officials obtained for the Crown most of the South Island in six blocks: Ngai Tahu Māori were left with an average of four hectares per person, far less than what was promised to them (Smith 2004:68; Walker 2004:106-108). Any land not occupied or being currently cultivated by Māori was deemed 'wasteland', targeted for Crown acquisition, and quickly put to use and 'legally' obtained (Walker 2004:106). Over this time period the government passed a number of laws and Acts, which in concert with other disingenuous practices, flouted Article Two of the Treaty and enabled the colonial dispossession of vast amounts of land from Māori (Alves 1999:26-27, 74; Walker 2004:108-111).

The story of Māori land dispossession on the North Island differs somewhat from the South Island in a number of ways (Walker 2004:110). Some of its land was obtained by settlers before the Treaty, and some afterward, but most of the North Island remained under Māori control for some time. This is due to the fact that far more Māori lived on the North Island than the South. This meant that even though by 1861 the Crown had obtained two-thirds of New Zealand's land, the bulk of this was on the South Island (Smith 2005:68). Summary sales of large tracts of land did not occur on the North Island as readily. Given the steady stream of settlers, who expected to quickly settle land and make a new and productive

life in New Zealand, this caused increasing frustration and put pressure on colonial officials. However, by the mid-century, these officials gained more power from a numerical advantage that stemmed from the fact that settlers began to outnumber Māori, who were being decimated by foreign disease and internecine warfare. Amidst this power reversal or shift, they found an easy way to induce Māori land sales: empty promises. With guarantees to erect schools, hospitals, and to establish land reserves for Māori, they obtained land at reduced prices, and then rarely kept their word (Orange 1989:45). Another means of settling colonial immigrants was through long-term leases of Māori land. Often lease arrangements were made without Māori being informed of the terms or having any knowledge of the lease (Alves 1999:74). Tenants thrived under the security of these leases and the developments they made to the land, whilst Māori gained little or nothing from them (Alves 1999:74). Through these and other devices, including the construction of roads and the confiscation of adjacent land from Māori when they had no money to pay road construction taxes, twenty-five percent of the North Island came under Crown control before the 1860s (Walker 2004:106).

Cumulatively, these schemes which breached the Treaty, increased tensions and set the stage for wars over land and right of self-determination for Māori. In the decades leading up to 1858, North Island chiefs began to recognise their diminishing authority, experienced repeated settler incursions, witnessed unchecked criminal activity and received silence as a response to requests for help from the government (Orange 1989:45-46; Walker 2004:111-112). Due to these injuries, cousins Te Rauparaha and Te Whiwhi promoted the idea that the chiefs should produce their own king (the Kingitanga movement) to unify Māori in an effort to meet these challenges— and with the delayed but pivotal endorsement of Ngatu Haua chief Wiremu Tamihana, Waikato Paramount chief Te Wherowhero was installed as the first Māori King in 1858 (Orange 1989:45-46; Walker 2004:111-112).

The situation came to a head soon thereafter. Newly installed Governor Browne, settlers, and the colonial government soon tired of the little amounts of land settlers were obtaining relative to the acres still held by a now dwindling and weakened Māori population. They began to apply a divide and conquer strategy, undermining Māori land tenure practices and chiefly authority in the process (Alves 1999:25-26; Walker 2004:113-114). Efforts were made by some government officials to undermine Māori alliances and incite intertribal tension and warfare (Walker 2004:114). However, a more effective means to appropriate land emerged. The 1862 Native Land Act established a means for the government to individualise Māori land ownership/stewardship/control (which traditionally was held collectively by a hapū or iwi), making it easier for any individual to sell or trade land away.

Thereafter, Governor Browne took things further, bringing about severe and unforeseen consequences for all involved. He placed the country under martial law, sent troops to Waitara to enforce a land sale under the new Act (flouting Treaty Article II), and in so doing, spurred on further intertribal solidarity under the Kingitanga and sparked some battles in the region between Māori and Imperial troops (Orange 1989:48; Walker 2004:114; Smith 2005:68). Not long before these developments, in July and August of 1860, Browne held a conference with a large, highly representative gathering of chiefs in which he calculated he could allay Māori fears, discredit the Kingitanga movement, and overcome dissatisfaction with the Waitara land purchase (Orange 1989:48; Smith 2005:68). The Kohimarama Conference, as it was called, did not produce any concerted rejection of the Kingitanga or acceptance of Browne's Waitara policy, but instead brought about a consequence he did not anticipate (Orange 1989:50-51). Through debate amongst themselves, the chiefs united in a renewed commitment to the Treaty, which they proclaimed a covenant intended to unify Māori and Pākehā (Orange 1989:50). Moreover, they asserted the Treaty permitted them rights of chiefly authority and mana on par with that of the Queen's, despite, and perhaps in response to, Browne's avoidance of any mention of any guarantee of te tino rangātiratanga (self-determination as a people) (Orange 1989:48-50,52; Smith 2005:69). Consequentially, Māori chiefs were more unified and supportive of the Treaty as a unifying, nation-building document than at any time previously (Orange 1989:50-51). The conference, for them, seemed to underscore their chiefly authority, especially with Browne's promise (which was never kept) that they would reconvene annually to permit greater Māori participation in the English government (Orange 1989:50-51).

The Kingitanga movement persisted, and with accusations by government officials that the Waikato tribes were violating the Treaty and creating an independent nation, tensions escalated (Orange 1989:52). Browne was removed in late 1861 and replaced by Grey in the hope that he could salvage the situation (Alves 1999:27; Walker 2004:115-117). Grey's return did not herald the arrival of a diplomatic solution that both the Crown and Māori desired; rather, he set about pursuing his agenda his way, undermining various chiefs, their mana, and the Kingitanga, positioning them against each other at times in his colonially-imposed runanga or Māori council system (Walker 2004:118). Runanga, as colonial mechanisms worked more or less in areas where Māori were more homogeneous, but failed where they artificially overlaid tribal boundaries (Alves 1999:27; Walker 2004:118). Whilst he made attempts to negotiate on the key issue of sovereign rights and chieftainship, and listened to Māori arguments for their rights, Grey had the military construct a road south from

Auckland into the Waikato; and when in 1863 war broke out again in Taranaki after he sent troops there to reoccupy Tataraimaka, he also had British troops cross the Mangatawhiri stream into Waikato tribal territory, beginning New Zealand's Land Wars (Alves 1999:26; Orange 1989:53; Walker 2004:119-120). At that time, an official government proclamation, warning that those who rebelled would have their lands confiscated, was issued too late to reach those in the Waikato (Orange 1989:53).

Māori and many settlers who saw in the Treaty an intent to unify their two peoples in one nation, were alarmed at these events and the onset of open war. Though they entreated the government and the Queen to adhere to the Treaty by respecting Māori as British citizens and returning to the rule of law, these petitions were ignored (Orange 1989:54; Smith 2005:68; Walker 2004:115-116). Both sides experienced victories and losses in battles, but the end result was a complete loss for Waikato tribes: a southerly extension of the Crown's hegemony enabled by fiat the confiscation of 640,000 hectares of their land with an additional 560,000 hectares "later 'purchased' at the barrel of the gun" (Walker 2004:128-129), totalling a loss of 1.2 million hectares of coveted, fertile, Waikato and Waipa land (Alves 1999:28). This punitive removal of land from those who were defending their lands and opposing Crown actions in breach of the Treaty had precedent in Crown dealings with Ireland and analogues with events in South African colonies (Boast 2009:25). Subsequent to the confiscations, laws and acts such as the 1863 New Zealand Settlements Act stipulated that lands so confiscated were to be occupied by settlers and defended by force— an approach that was, with efficacy, applied to the Waikato region (Boast 2009:32). The confiscation weakened the Kingitanga movement with the result that King Tawhiao, who reigned after his father's wartime death, and his people, who having lost nearly all their land, were economically and spiritually crippled (Alves 1999:29; Walker 2004:129). The Treaty-flouting confiscation of land extended south to a line drawn on a map, known as the Aukati or Confiscation Line (Clark and Tairi 1992:7,11-12; Scott n.d.:4). In terms of its location near Mount Maungatautari, the Aukati Line was north and west and ran southwest to northeast through the Pukekura hills, and from there passed by Karapiro (Clark and Tairi 1992:12; Scott n.d.:4). Because of the Aukati's position, Ngāti Koroki hapū members living on Maungatautari's slopes did not lose their mountain, yet in consideration of their wider tribal connections with Waikato tribes and connections to the Kingitanga, they lost mana and were dispossessed of any land northwest of the mountain. The Aukati thereafter essentially became the new southern outpost of an increasingly aggressive, Western societal expansion, under the

hands of a determined settler-orientated government, with Ngāti Koroki hapū members on the front lines of it all.

Hands Changing Lands: New Zealand Landscape Modification

When Captain James Cook came to New Zealand, human-wrought change of its environment had already begun and was continuing at the hands of Māori. They had cleared some forest land, hunted endemic species and cultivated plants to subsist upon (Bellamy and Springett 1990:138-139,158-159); Campbell and Hutching 2007:223; Fleet 1986:72; Smith 2005:14-15; Young 2004:40-49). Though they had already given up their ocean-crossing sailing canoes, they traded amongst themselves over land, or by using large canoes and routes that hugged the coastline. Māori did intentionally bring some plant and animal species to the islands to subsist upon but had never engaged in any regionally- or globally-scaled trading until after European arrival (Walker 2004:78; Young 2004:60). Following Cook's visit, more regular European contact with New Zealand brought about both accidental and intentional introductions of plants and animals, connected Māori to global economic systems, foregin contagion to which Māori had no resistance, forever changing ecosystems and resource use patterns in New Zealand as Māori land use changed and their population fell (Craig et al.:65; Fleet 1986:112-114,137; Walker 2004:78-81; Young 2004:58). The accidental introduction of invasive species, like Norwegian and Bush Rats and hares (Young 2004:58), contributed or caused extinctions and environmental change, reaching even New Zealand's inner corridors and heartlands by 1840 (Craig et al.:2000:63). While the politics and problems connected to the onset of settlers into an already occupied New Zealand intensified and resulted in the Land Wars, these environmental changes were simultaneously occurring. From 1840 to 1870, ongoing deforestation connected to settler activities continued unabated and even accelerated with a further twenty-five percent reduction of existing forest cover (Young 2004:58-60).

The first European political economy implanted on New Zealand focused entirely on the prize of extractive and exploitative industries— whaling, sealing, timber, kauri gum, and gold and other minerals (Young 2004:60). Following the Treaty, extractive activity only intensified. Settlers, intent on owning land and making a living had to provide for themselves and did so with sheep and cattle farming, but the pattern of resource extraction linked to the larger global economic system, continued well into the following century (Park 1995:24; Young 2004:61-62,112,123) and can be presently seen in a thriving dairy and sheep agricultural economy that dominates New Zealand's GDP (Park 1995:23-24). For Māori who

signed the Treaty, the agreement meant the protection of their land, and hence its resources, wild or otherwise. How each party viewed what this 'protection' meant is not made clear in the Treaty (Young 2004:63), but perhaps some resource use examples from that time can shed light on how they may have construed it.

When pigs were introduced to the islands, for instance, they were put under tapū by Māori for several years. This permitted the species to proliferate before being utilised as a resource (Young 2004:63). We know Māori relied on this resource for decades thereafter, evincing the fact that a sustainable use pattern for pigs was established or at least attempted and successful for a time. When Cook and his men explored the Waihou River, they noted the vast wetlands before them, seeing it as vast unused land, suitable for cultivation, though in fact it was utilised at times by local Ngāti Maru members who then had it under a tapū use ban to allow the naturally "food-rich labyrinth of waterways" to remain healthy and robust (Park 1995:38-39).

The huia bird is another example. Known in the ornithological world for its unique form of bill sexual dimorphism[1], the now extinct bird was prized by Māori for its distinct tail feathers which were used to adorn chiefs and those with great mana. Due to the bird's importance and Māori ecology approaches, huia harvesting was done so sustainably, and the bird survived into the early twentieth century (Young 2004:94). In 1901, the Duke of York visited Rotorua and was given a huia tail feather by a female Māori guide who placed it in the band of his bowler hat (Young 2004:94). After returning to Europe, people took notice of this new adornment, whereupon the demand created for this fashion statement made the feather a prized commodity. The New Zealand government took note and promoted a huia tail feather industry and backed efforts to capture more of the increasingly hard to find birds (Young 2004:94). This hunting, driven by unchecked market demand, in combination with an already diminished natural habitat and the effects of foreign pests and predators, brought about the huia's quick extinction: live specimens were last sighted in 1907 (Young 2004:94).

When Māori came to New Zealand they found an environment and climate far different from those they were accustomed to in central eastern Polynesia. They had to learn to live within the constraints of these new ecosystems. Over the 600 years or more in which they spread to all areas of New Zealand, much of what they learned was by trial and error, and some extinctions (e.g. the large, ostrich-like moa bird) and land alteration did occur (Bellamy and Springett 1990:138-139; Smith 2005:15,17; Young 2004:40-49). Māori, like

[1] Male huia had short, strong bills, whilst females had long, curved bills. Only together could males and females best forage for their primary food sources.

most humans, did try to optimise what came into their sphere, and in adopting new technologies and resources, had to go through a learning curve relative to the mastering of a new resource and finding a needful ecological balance to its use. In the face of foreign technologies, flora, and fauna, Māori quickly adopted and utilised them, and in the case of certain foodstuffs, produced enough for themselves and enough to prop up wider food trade systems within and without the country (Walker 2004:99-100; Young 2004:63).

Settlers, predominantly from England, Ireland and Scotland, arrived to find a people and a land quite alien to what they left behind. For decades these settlers constituted the sociocultural and ethnic minorities in the isles. The surrounding natural environment served to add another dimension of dislocation: unfamiliar topography, seasons, climate, animals and plants all served to highlight their new, foreign, antipodean home (Young 2004:63). Settler unfamiliarity with the landscape, and a desire to quickly make things more familiar, brought about a certain level of indifference toward the island's endemic biota which likely was a factor in the lack of hesitation with which settlers altered the environment (Park 1995:15-16; Young 2004:63). In the swift push to change New Zealand's natural environment into one reminiscent of a former homeland, notions of what was productive and useful formalised into acclimatisation policies. This were infused with Darwinian fatalism in the assertion that the island's natives species, including Māori, were destined for extinction, and that it was the duty and right of all settlers to alter the land, make it familiar and render it "productive" (Park 1995:24-27; Smith 2005:147; Young 2004:64-67,73-74,106). John Armstrong in 1871 summed this notion in comments he made when noting the rapid rate at which introduced non-native plants were overtaking Christchurch's Avon River:

> the indigenous Flora seem to have arrived at a period of its existence, when it has no longer strength to maintain its own against invading races; indeed, every person who has attempted the cultivation of native plants knows how difficult it is to cultivate the most of them on account of their weakness in constitution. Again, the hand of man is busily employed on their extermination – everywhere the forests are being cut down or burnt, the swamps drained, and the grassy plains and valleys broken up and cultivated. Under these combined influences it is evidently utterly impossible that the native plants can survive (Young 2004:63-64).

To be sure, settler interaction with New Zealand's strange land, forests and species, varied in connection to the cultural background, education and income on the individual settler (Young 2004:65). These settlers in the main, however, came from a Western sociocultural background influenced by the Enlightenment and its libertarian views and so, generally, held

an agriculturalist's view of nature that stipulated nature was, by itself, of little economic value and must be guided, harnessed, transformed (Smith 2005:147; Young 2004:65-68,147).

Even so, some of the fledgling country's settlers recognised the need to protect native biota and even halt the radical alteration of New Zealand's landscape. Many Scots, who were educated Calvinists, secured many executive and key positions in the country's philosophical and scientific societies, lamented the biotic losses and quickly established the nation's first conservation endeavours (Young 2004:67-72). Though some advocated for forest protection and more selective use, it was recognised then and now that the settlers had come to make new lives and money far and above what they could otherwise attain in the homelands they recently left (Young 2004:70). Acclimatisation, with its accoutrements, and land change for agricultural purposes, were unmistakably the order of the day.

In accordance with these aims, half of the mammals that were brought in during acclimatisation's policy heyday, which lasted to 1910, were introduced between 1860 and 1880 (Young 2004:72). Bumblebees for pollination, black swans for status and possums for pelts are examples of introductions under this rubric aimed at making "worthwhile" use of the land (Young 2004:73). Additionally, because New Zealand was seen as lacking fauna suitable for sport hunting, deer and other game animals were introduced and protected by various acts, including the Protection of Certain Animals Act 1861 (Young 2004: 73). Vocal proponents of introducing game laws gave assurances that in New Zealand these laws should serve everyone, though in practice the laws excluded Māori subsistence and cultural use rights, even restricting endemic kererū and paradise duck for game purposes only (Young 2004:73-74,103). Occasionally, conservation ideas of the time found their way into New Zealand societal thought and were of influence. The idea that indiscriminate clearing of forests did degrade both nature and civilisation, as expressed by American George Perkins Marsh in his 1864 book *Man and Nature,* found traction in New Zealand. Four years after its publication and circulation in New Zealand, MP Thomas Potts quoted Marsh in a speech supporting the country's first forest conservation bill (Young 2004:74).

Other voices sounded the conservation alarm as well. Māori, increasingly forced to work as hired labourers in order to make a living, were acquainted with the reality that the environment which they formally subsisted on was disappearing or becoming irreparably damaged (Young 2004:74). In a newspaper connected with the Māori King movement someone presciently wrote on the issue illustrating an early recognition of the deteriorating situation: "'lest there be no trees for our descendents [*sic*]. Do not either set fire to the scrub on the wastelands lest the manuka and eel-weirs be destroyed and the land spoilt" (Young

2004:74). Māori were suffering due to the effects of acclimatisation policies and the laws that criminalised their customary use of natural resources (Young 2004:103). Without the means to produce foodstuffs on the scale they previously had before the Land Wars, they were forced to rely heavily on ever-dwindling and marginalised traditional food sources. When the 1889 Animals Protection Act Amendment Bill was introduced with the intent to curb the wastage and destruction of native birds at the hands of professional hunters, Māori representatives wasted no time in relating their strong support for it (Young 2004:103). However, when legislative council member Rapata Wahawaha rightly insisted that deforestation for agriculture was responsible for falling native bird populations, not Māori harvesting customs, and then recommended that areas be set aside as native game sanctuaries, he was rejected (Young 2004:103). This issue arose again in 1900 with an amendment of the Animals Protection Act. Māori again argued that it was deforestation and not Māori customary usage that was the cause of the problem. They were ignored, and kererū, kākā and other animals were put under the protection of law, ignoring Māori subsistence needs and rights (Young 2004:103).

Non-violent protest became the primary means by which Māori drew attention to their rights and the steady march of acclimatisation. However, these efforts were also ignored and eradication efforts continued to remove 'undesirable' flora and fauna Māori customarily relied on in favour of exotic species (Young 2004:103-105). Vocal complaints over the introduction of exotic fish, like trout, which damaged the customary food stocks of whitebait, koura, seemed to make little difference as foreign fish stocks programmes continued (Young 2004:105). A conservation ethic did emerge in the society and government at large (now marked by older settlers and a rising generation born in New Zealand), though in some cases it really was the means for further land loss for Māori (Young 2004:105). The passage of the Urewera District Native Reserve Act 1896, for example, was couched in the idea to 'set apart and preserve a scenic land and its people, Tuhoe'. It later enabled a round of aggressive land purchases by the government, which then divested the land out of the conservation estate (Young 2004:105). The Scenery Preservation Act 1903 aimed to acquire and protect scenic, historic and valuable areas, including those still blessed with native biota. This added the component of an aesthetic appreciation to notions of conservation (Young 2004:106). The commission it empowered succeeded in establishing 7000ha of reserves in two years, but accomplished little else, and earnestness in this endeavour largely waned by the First World War (Young 2004:106).

Wetlands and swamps were targeted next through a number of Acts that promoted their drainage and settlement despite the fact that for Māori they were an extremely productive and useful resource base (Young 2004:111-113). The onset of intensive dairying set in motion another round land alteration. By 1901 there were 5,000 dairy farms, whereas just ten years before they practically did not exist and by 1911, 15,000 existed, a harbinger of what lay ahead for the country's economy and landscape (King 2003:237,283,436; Park 1995:23-24; Young 2004:112). Dissatisfaction at the inaction or insufficient action on the part of the government relative to increased landscape change and endemic species loss led some to organise efforts to protect the islands' dwindling endemic biota and ecosystems. With an emphasis on the need to protect wild nature as well as scenery, they formed the New Zealand Forest and Bird Protection Society in 1914 (Young 2004:113). Collectively, these developments and shifts in thought did, over the following four decades, lead to the creation of other similar societies, a national Forest Service, official conservation education curricula in schools, and the establishment of many significant national sanctuaries and national parks, including Farewell Spit (a crucial bird sanctuary) and the renowned Abel Tasman National Park (Young 2004:114-123).

After World War Two, the dairy industry increased in prominence and profit, and with the cheap and efficient application of fertilizer via small planes and the introduction of hearty new exotic grasses, it was economically viable to develop more pastureland, ushering in the "grasslands revolution". As a result, the amount of surface land area that was converted to pasture reached 51 percent (Craig et al. 2000:65; King 2003:435-436). The country's rainforests, which once covered seventy-eight percent of the land, continued to atrophy via invasive fauna (e.g. possums and rats) eating shoots, leaves and seeds, increased timber milling and/or the replacement of native forest with non-native forests or pastures. Collectively, these factors resulted in only twenty-three percent of the land area remaining in indigenous forest cover by the onset of the twenty-first century (Craig et al. 2000:63; Young 2004:182-188). Mining and hydroelectricity dams also brought on landscape change, transforming areas by swallowing wetlands, creating lakes, upending earth, and altering biotic configurations, as can be seen on the South Island's West Coast and the North's Coromandel (Young 2004:176-178), or all along the Waikato River, as can be seen from Maungatautari at Arapuni and Karapiro. In terms of its topography and biotic assemblage, New Zealand now is neither what arriving Polynesians discovered, nor what Cook and ensuing Europeans settlers encountered. Human activity is the single most influential factor

in New Zealand's extreme landscape and environmental modifications. Its ecosystems and severely reduced endemic biota bear the clear mark of human hands.

Māori on Maungatautari

With the Aukati/Confiscation Line just northwest of Maungatautari, the mountain and hapū there were immediately placed on the front doorstep of a southerly-moving settler expansion and the landscape and ecosystem changes that came with it. Soldiers and settlers together maintained a presence there to ensure the line, and a tenuous peace, would hold (Clark and Tairi 1992:11). Located nearby the Aukati Line were the Māori *kainga* (village) of Whareturere and Porewa pā. Viewing them as threats, the British army built a redoubt nearby in 1864 and then sent 550 men of the 50th Regiment to sack it (Clark and Tairi 1992:11; Scott n.d.:4). These and other Māori in the area had to build new settlements. For those that remained, they and British settlers alike had to be ever on guard. In these tense conditions, King Tawhiao's decree of death for any white man who ventured over the Aukati Line was enforced: in what may have been the last act of The Land Wars, settler Tim Sullivan crossed the Aukati in 1873 while building a water crossing, and was shot and beheaded (Scott n.d.:4). Much of Ngāti Koroki, who had during The Land Wars left their homes, began to return to Maungatautari and only then discovered that some of their rohe and homes were on the other side of the Aukati (Clark and Tairi 1992:11). Ngāti Koroki, now known as Ngāti Koroki Kahukura, are considered Maungatautari's primary tangata whenua and Mana Whenua. However, they are not the only tribe or hapū that have links to Maungatautari. Other Māori tribes have lived on and around its slopes, made use of its streams, verdant bush and defensible topography. Other intersecting iwi or hapū have at times kept their "homes fires" burning on and around Maungatautari. Thus, the next two subsections relate Māori whakapapa, legend and history, as it concerns their arrival to, and presence on and around, Maungatautari.

First "Fires" on the Maunga

For Māori, the stories of their ancestors' lives and feats are inseparable from the places in which they occur (Garlick et al. 2010:8-9; Ka'ai et al. 2004:13). These stories and their connection to others, locales, and other elements of the spiritual and physical world, comprise the core of their whakapapa, and provide a visceral identity, an anchor for whanau, hapū and iwi. However, whakapapa, with its stories and genealogies, is more than just history and a foundation for 0073hared identity, but constitutes a source of knowledge, a reservoir of

values, and a collection of parables with which life is to be navigated by, both at the personal and hapū/community levels. For these reasons all whakapapa is a sacred taonga, possession. The stories I relate below are extracts of whakapapa from various hapū and iwi who have at one time claimed, or presently claim, Maungatautari as their rohe. Much of it is derived from the knowledge of Te Kaapo Clark, a late kaumātua of NKK, and Lyn Tairi, buttressed by other relevant sources.

It is believed that the Tainui and Te Arawa canoes brought a third migration of Polynesian peoples to New Zealand around A.D. 1300, landing on the east coast of the North Island at Whangaparaoa (Clark and Tairi 1992:1). Those in the Tainui canoe then sailed north and crossed overland to Manukau's west coast (near present day Auckland), with some settling at Waitemata, whose descendants later spread south from there, while another group of Tainui settlers went on to Whaingaroa or Raglan, Kawhia and Mokau (Clark and Tairi 1992:1). Those with Te Arawa spread inland from the east coast, to settle the nearby mountains and the central plateau, and then the lake regions around Rotorua, between there and Maketu, with their descendants going on to spread inland to areas now known as the Waikato and the King country (Clark and Tairi 1992:1). In the 1400s, rivalries between brothers and sisters, power struggles and lovers' quarrels, resulted in wider dispersals of all those from these two canoes: descendants of Tainui spread to the eastern and inland side of Pirongia (a mountain west of Maungatautari) and out into some nearby ranges, with a key village being established at Otorohanga by Turongo (Clark and Tairi 1992:2).

Mahinarangi, wife of Turongo, gave birth to a son, Raukawa, while travelling near Matamata— an area occupied for six generations by Ngāti Kahupungapunga, who came inland from the coast, north to Ngaruawahia and south to Taupo (Clark and Tairi 1992:2). Māori, who track descent from all tribal and hapū lines, can thereby lay claim to multiple hapū and marae through the lineage of each and every parent, grandparent and great grandparent, et cetera. Mahinarangi as a descendant of Kupe was from Ngāti Kahupungapunga, and so her son, Raukawa, whose father Turongo was of Tainui, was born among her iwi (Clark and Tairi 1992:1-2). Generally though, it was Ngāti Kahupungapunga and Te Arawa peoples who occupied, and peaceably lived together in, the area and district around Maungatautari, establishing new settlements. Among them was one settled by Ngāti Kahupungapunga sometime in the early 1500s at the village area now known as Karapiro, located on the edge of the Waikato River, just north of Maungatautari at the foot of its slopes (Clark and Tairi 1992:2; Scott n.d.:1). The amicable cohabitation of the area by the two groups and some from Tainui continued until the relationship of a certain couple turned sour:

the wife, from Ngāti Kahupungapunga, was killed by her husband who was from the Tainui/Raukawa tribe (Clark and Tairi 1992:2-3). War between their groups broke out in the desire to achieve utu (Clark and Tairi 1992:2-3). Lands were conquered and lost, frequently changing hands between the groups for a time (Clark and Tairi 1992:2-3). In the end, the Tainui hapū won and they and their descendants came to control and settle their foe's lands, including areas around Maungatautari, such as Puahue on its western slopes and Roto-o-rangi, northwest of the maunga (Clark and Tairi 1992:3).

In the 1600s, Te Ihingarangi (a grandson of Raukawa) and his people resettled from the Waipa Valley to Karapiro because of a dispute with his half-brother Maniapoto, only to again move his people from there eastward and south, along and around the maunga to the Maungatautari village area after losing another skirmish to Maniapoto (Clark and Tairi 1992:3,5). Te Ihingarangi's people in this century came to be known as Raukawa, and spread up the slopes of the maunga, all around Karapiro, and down the Waikato River towards Kirikiriroa (present day Hamilton City) (Clark and Tairi 1992:5). Living there on the slopes of the maunga was advantageous for a number of reasons. It was defensible and afforded them a vantage point across the Waikato basin. It provided rich resources all around them, like birds and medicines in the forests, and flax, waterfowl and eel in the swampy lowlands and in the river itself (Clark and Tairi 1992:5).

Later that century, Koroki, a descendent of Te Ihingarangi, rose to prominence and lived near what is now the town of Cambridge (Clark and Tairi 1992:5). The Tribe of Ngāti Koroki then is traced to him through his two sons, Hape and Haua, which he had through Tumataura, one of his wives (Clark and Tairi 1992:5). In connection to Koroki then, the tribe of Raukawa split into three hapū: Ngāti Koroki; Ngāti Haua another, consisting of Haua and his descendants; and Ngāti Wairere, named after and consisting of the descendants of Wairere, who was the father of Koroki's wife Tumataura (Clark and Tairi:1992:5). In the 1700s, Haua and his people spread from where they were living on the north side of the Waikato River all the way to Matamata, while his brother Hape's descendants spread over the areas on the south side of the river (Clark and Tairi 1992:8).

Modern "Fires" on the Maunga

In the 1800s the effects of European settlement in New Zealand began to tangibly affect the area around Maungatautari and the lives of those hapū there. Amidst a war between Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto, which featured introduced muskets and more, Te Rauparaha, whose mother was of Ngāti Raukawa from the Maungatautari village area, convinced many

relations, including the people of Raukawa, to migrate south with him and his people to increase his fighting forces (Boast 2009:89-92; Clark and Tairi 1992:8). Many of Ngāti Raukawa remained in Otaki, where they had travelled south with Te Rauparaha, but some returned home to join the few who had remained, occupying the western slopes of the maunga (Boast 2009:89-92;437; Scott n.d.:3). The mass migration for war left the verdant and advantageous slopes of Maungatautari vacant at a time when tribes from the Hauraki Gulf were wandering in search of a home after being forced to flee their lands by the powerful, musket-wielding northern Nga Puhi tribes lead by Hone Hika (Clark and Tairi 1992:8; Scott n.d.:2).

These new Māori settlers to the area were Ngāti Maru, and were there purportedly through the kindness of Ngāti Koroki and Haua people who knew them to be refugees (Clark and Tairi 1992:8). Ngāti Maru expanded in what abandoned villages they found and grew in numbers and strength, which led to some skirmishes with some from the three subtribes of Raukawa that remained in the area and region (Clark and Tairi 1992:8). In December of 1830 Haua defeated Ngāti Maru with the aid of whanau-aligned warriors from Tauranga (Clark and Tairi 1992:8; Scott n.d.:2). Ngāti Maru was escorted from the area to Hauraki, and Haua peoples returned to their homes and areas extending from the north side of the river through Matamata, and Ngāti Koroki was left to be the principal people of the maunga and invested with the guardianship of it (Clark and Tairi 1992:9; Scott n.d.:2). It was at this great battle that Karapiro gained its current name: Te Waharoa, leader of the Haua warriors, quickly burnt the bodies of his fallen warriors overnight on a rocky outcrop near the river's edge for fear of their bodies falling into Ngāti Maru hands (Clark and Tairi 1992:9; Scott n.d.:2). The name aptly describes, and hence prompts memory of, what occurred there: 'kara' in Te Reo means rock, while 'piro' connotes a stink or odor (Clark and Tairi 1992:9; Scott n.d.:2).

British and European presence over this time grew and came to increasingly affect Māori in the area. Over the period from 1824 to 1849 Ngāti Koroki peoples engaged in trade using cultivated wheat, potatoes and orchard fruit and the cattle and pigs they raised, built and used their own mill houses and courthouse, and also began to experience Christian missionisation through the efforts of Rev. Alfred Brown and others (Clark and Tairi 1992:9-10; Scott n.d.:3). Ngāti Koroki's principal chief Tioriori, appointed as an assessor, administered law and order in the area and helped to keep peace between European settlers and Māori, and worked alongside Wiremu Tamihana at times in this endeavour (Clark and Tairi 1992:9). In 1840, German born doctor and naturalist Ernst Dieffenbach came to the maunga, observed deserted pā and attempted to scale Maungatautari, only to be deterred by

its dense bush (Scott n.d.:3). Throughout the summer of 1841-1842 the explorer, missionary, botanist and politician William Colenso visited and was well received at Maungatautari, and Bishop Selwyn celebrated Christmas there in 1844 (Scott n.d.:3). Ensign Best, a member of Governor Hobson's staff, visited the southern side of Maungatautari in 1842, staying in Pukeatua, and like Dieffenbach, was thwarted by the dense bush in his attempt to summit the mountain's peak (Scott n.d.:4). More regular relations with local Māori increased through Ann and James Shephard, who established a trading post near Whareturere in 1856 which was well used by Māori there (Clark and Tairi 1992:10; Scott n.d.:3).

However, skirmishes between Maori and British settlers and troops elsewhere threatened open war between the groups. Tioriori and Tamihana, wanting to avert open war and its adverse effects, made efforts (ultimately futile) to avert it (Scott n.d.:4). The onset of war affected Tioriori's people at Maungatautari in a number of ways. After some losses, many of those behind the Kingitanga movement fled to the fortified pā Te Tiki a te Ihinigarangi at Maungatautari (Clark and Tairi 1992:10; Scott n.d.:4). British forces followed them there but never attacked: they waited in a camp below until its occupants exhausted their supplies and fled (Clark and Tairi 1992:10). Tamihana took Ngāti Haua people and fled to Peria, near Matamata, while Ngāti Koroki peoples fled into the bush and/or moved away from the area, heading south to Taupo, only to return once the wars were over and the official determination of the Aukati line made it reasonable to do so (Clark and Tairi 1992:10). Tioriori was never the same after a battle in July 1863, where he was wounded with two musket shots while helping a wounded British soldier escape the crossfire, and was captured and then imprisoned aboard a ship for months (Clark and Tairi 1992:10-11). Following the indignity of a large confiscation of hapū land to the north and west of Maungatautari, he died in September of 1867 (Clark and Tairi 1992:10-11).

The taking or removal of Māori land, however, was not over. European settlers and the colonial government, who had instigated the war to get land off Māori, wanted the lion's share of the fertile Waikato (Walker 2004:135). The government obliged. In 1862 the Native Lands Act was passed establishing the Native Land Court (later to be called the Māori Land Court), vesting it with the power to "decide the ownership of Māori lands" (Walker 2004:135). Further, it set about fundamentally altering the Māori–land relationship. It foisted a titled "ownership" model upon Māori wherein no more than ten individuals could be associated with any single land block regardless of wider whanua/hapū connections and use, laying the foundation for a departure from customary land tenure to freehold, individual titled ownership (Boast 2009:33,472; Clark and Tairi 1992:11; Walker 2004:136; see also

Loveridge 2000). The law was intended to individualise control of land, and thus enable quick and easy land transactions for the benefit of settlers: specifically, it made it legal for any one of the up to ten individuals named on a title to sell the block and do so without the informed consent of the others, often pitting individuals from whanau and hapū against one another (Clark and Tairi 1992:11; Walker 2004:136). Efforts to correct the ten-owner rule, which flouted Māori communal land "ownership" sensibilities, failed, and the true and original intent of this Act continued largely unabated (Clark and Tairi 1992:11; Walker 2004:136). The court itself did not become operative until after the passing of the Native Land Act 1865, but when it did in 1866, it surged forward to accomplish the goal for which it was created: four million hectares of Māori land was alienated in the ensuing thirty years (Walker 2004:136). Notably, because it was a small victory for local Māori, in November 1868 the Land Court convened in Cambridge to decide on the ownership of the Pukekura, Puahue and Maungatautari areas, with the result that a certain number of individuals as descendants of Kauwhata, along with members from Ngāti Koroki, Ngāti Kahukura and Ngāti Haua, had their claims upheld which enabled them to retain some of their lands (Clark and Tairi 1992:11-12).

Despite this small triumph, government and settler expropriation of land continued under various rubrics, formal and informal. The Maungatautari block was set up by the Land Court in 1871, which enabled settlers to buy land, and in 1872 Maclean and Co. purchased 8,000 acres in the area which became a pattern for others thereafter (Clark and Tairi 1992:13; Scott n.d.:4-5). Other companies acquired land, and following a depression in the 1880s and the creation of the Assets Realisation Board in 1895, land held by these companies was subdivided and sold to settlers (Clark and Tairi 1992:13; Scott n.d.:4-5). Local Māori who recognised early on that they were threatened by the loss of more land in this way, held meetings from 1870 to 1890 to formulate ways to resist further settlement and development of the area and stop the selling and leasing of land by whanua and hapū members (Clark and Tairi 1992:13-14). Between these years the Maungatautari area also became the centre of Kingitanga activity, including the creation of an effective banking institution among Māori which operated from Parawera, Maungatautari and Maungakawa (Clark and Tairi 1992:14).

A number of Māori rented land to settlers who, in some cases, defaulted on rent (Clark and Tairi 1992:12-13). After initial court decisions finding in favour of Māori landholders, decisions from the appeals court did at times find in favour of settler-renters and meted out punitive punishments that resulted in Māori losing the land, equipment and many of their possessions (Clark and Tairi 1992:12-13). Māori were often beset by confusion and

legal ambiguity in these situations due to the fact that there were by 1883 no fewer than 25 Acts or Amendments passed relating to Māori land, and none were translated into Te Reo Māori (Clark and Tairi 1992:12-13). The court's power to decide ownership of land led to unscrupulous actions to dispossess Māori of their land. Land sharks, speculators, government land-purchase officers and even local shopkeepers, operated in ways that enabled them to acquire Māori land and/or sell Māori land right out from under hapū/iwi occupants (Walker 2004:137). Compounding the situation, Māori attending the Land Court quickly accrued debts from lawyer's fees, court costs and living expenses incurred whilst away from home, and appeals of court decisions exponentially raised fees, which resulted in debts so large they could only pay for them by selling the lands they were there to retain (Alves 1999:33; Walker 2004:137). Local hapū members retreated into Maungatautari's foothills, but their previous agricultural prosperity and trade collapsed: disposed of suitable land, their suite of crops changed, the flour mills closed, and the reduction of crops and produce meant they only had enough to subsist upon (Clark and Tairi 1992:13).

Overall, the actions encouraged and made legal by the Land Acts and amending laws achieved their aims for the areas around Maungatautari: bush around the maunga was cleared to create pastures and Ngāti Koroki, pushed out of prime lands and areas for cultivation and subsistence, were forced to abandon their communal way of life in favour of government-approved individual family-based blocks (Clark and Tairi 1992:14; Scott n.d.:5). With little land remaining for them, most members of Ngāti Koroki left the area in search for work as part of a larger trend of Māori urbanisation that occurred throughout the twentieth century and more especially with and after World War II (Clark and Tairi 1992:15; Walker 2004:186,197). Schemes promoting land development and further confiscation continued to operate from the European legal system, and included tax incentives and grants, deferred payment, lease to own and more, and brought about their intended effect: more land was divested from Māori and more bush was converted to pasture, benefitting settlers and the nation's sheep and beef industries, and later, enabled the development of a strong national dairy industry following the First World War (King 2003:237,283,436; Scott n.d.:5; Walker 2004:137-142).

By the time the Pukekura block was purchased in the early part of the 1900s, no Māori remained in the Karapiro area (Clark and Tairi 1992:14-15). In the early 1930s, D. V. Bryant of Hamilton initiated the settlement of the Kairangi Valley as a way to help the unemployed get through the Great Depression (Cooper 1983:1). Bryant, some farmers, and a number of business men formed the Waikato Land Settlement Society, which then purchased

850 acres of fern and scrub covered land in the district, and got men and their families up there to clear and work the land and create a new community (Cooper 1983:1,3). Meanwhile, southwest of this area Raukawa in small numbers remained, and kept a marae at Parawera (Scott n.d.:5). As for Ngāti Koroki, they remained, though only two marae remain to mark their former and more extensive presence: one northern one just upslope of the Maungatautari village on Hicks Rd., and the other on an eastern slope, below a rock escarpment at Pohara (Scott n.d.:5). Over the years, Maungatautari became completely encircled by sheep, beef and dairy farms. A small portion of these farms presently are owned and run by local Māori families and individuals, but the majority are owned by Pākehā. There are a small portion of owners, both Māori and Pākehā, who own, use and reside on land that has been in their family for multiple generations. Of the land blocks that adjoin and/or proceed some distance under the project's fence, twenty are owned by non-Māori individuals and families. A few of these owners at the time of the project's launch, and for some years thereafter, have leased or continue to lease some of their farm's operational land from Māori owners. These rented out Māori land blocks in many cases also adjoin the project fence. In total, private land in the MEIT project on the mountain amounts to 102.05ha. Māori land blocks under and within the project fence comprise another 585.88ha. Lastly, public land, in the form of Crown Scenic Reserve land, amounts to 2,563.14ha behind the project's main Xcluder fence.

The Treaty, Māori Social Justice, and Conservation

Much has been written about the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi over the last forty years by many respected authors and scholars. The vast amount of material on the subject reflects the fact that the Treaty has been a contested topic of national debate and the subject of a good deal of rhetoric from the 1970s onward. There is not room here for even a summary of what has been written, but it is essential that a few aspects regarding the Treaty are discussed as they link to various topics of interest in this thesis, namely local hapū Treaty claims, land rights and ownership issues, rights to resources and rohe, partnership, and more.

Much of the debate surrounding the Treaty can simply be attributed to the existence of more than one 'version' of the Treaty in the form of the English version and the one subsequently translated into Te Reo Māori (see Durie 1989:300-312; Smith 2005:51-52). Incidentally, the Māori chiefs who signed the Māori language version of the Treaty likely did not view their Treaty to be ceding substantive sovereignty to the Crown because 'mana', the term used for sovereignty, was not indicated as the object being ceded, but rather the transliteration kāwanatanga, which denotes governance (Durie 1998:2-3; Walker 2004:98).

Thus, in the Te Reo version, they were agreeing to have the Queen establish and provide governance there. Really, the chiefs wanted to retain their rights of self-determination and control over tribal resources and land, but yet secure British help in curtailing the lawlessness and anarchy that had developed as a result of settler's thirsts for land, and many Māori's thirst for muskets (Buick 1972:32-33,35-38). Even so, this and other discrepancies primarily stem from the necessity of choosing terms or phrases in Māori to take the place of English terms and meanings. Another analysis of the Treaty likewise concluded that the chiefs who signed did not view their actions as relinquishing sovereignty to the British Crown, but rather as granting the Queen merely the right to appoint a governor over New Zealand (Salmond 2012:116-117). From records of the discussions the chiefs and the Crown's representatives had concerning the Treaty before it was signed, the chiefs likely viewed the Treaty as the beginning of what was to be a reciprocal and lasting relationship, or covenant, between them and the Crown, and the descendants of both parties (Williams 1989:64). Of equal importance, and regardless of the version one looks at, it is clear Māori were accorded full British citizenship status and were promised "the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands, forests and fisheries and other properties" (Salmond 2012:117). This can reasonably be interpreted to mean protection for Māori rights and the resources they utilised or were acknowledged to control, on par with an English view of ownership. Despite all of this, an objective reading of the English version of the Treaty yet transfers all Māori tribal rights and powers over their territories into Crown possession by a ceding to the Queen "without reservation all the rights and powers of sovereignty" (cf. English language version, Treaty of Waitangi, 1840:Article 1).

Nuanced and not so nuanced discrepancy between the English version and its Māori counterpart begs a few questions: was a granting of Māori tribal sovereignty to the British Monarchy intended, or did the Treaty's Māori signatories merely consent to New Zealand being governed by her, but yet retain their rights to rule their tribes? Did Māori chiefs truly understand what '*kawanatanga'* (government, rule, authority) meant versus *rangatiratanga* (right to exercise authority, self-determination, leadership) as used in the Treaty? What is to be concluded about the Māori version's omission of the phrase "forests and fisheries"? Discrepancies aside, at the occasion of its presentation and signing by the rangatira, the Treaty's translator, missionary Henry Williams and Governor Busby took the occasion to assure rangatira that the Treaty, as proxy for the Queen's beneficence, was not intended to deprive them of any land they had not sold, but rather was to "secure to them their property, rights, and privileges" (Buick 1972:125-126; King 2003:161). A last matter of concern here

that should be acknowledged pertains to a vested interest Williams may have held in the proceedings. As a missionary, he and others like him, lived on and owned land at the express permission of their patron chief. Should the Treaty be signed by the chiefs, and an English language version prioritised over any other (which was the case at that time, at least until the entire Treaty came to be discounted and ignored by the Crown and New Zealand's wider society and government until scrutiny came to bear on it in the 1970s), the right to issue land titles would shift to the Crown, potentially providing more secure land ownership for them and forthcoming settlers (Alves 1999:21; Buick 1972:129-131,135; Goldsmith 2005:67-68; Walker 2004:91; Salmond 2012:117). For these and other reasons, the Treaty and what it meant then and what it means now for New Zealand is contested and the subject of ongoing interpretation and debate.

Other matters that complicate debate and law surrounding the Treaty include: a) the existence of various Treaty versions circulated for signing; b) uncertainty relative to the due order of procedure; c) the disingenuous attestation by Hobson to the British colonial office that the English version lodged therein was a translation of the Māori version when in fact the opposite was true; d) issues of pubic record relative to the Treaty's creation and ratification; and e) an ambiguity concerning which parties were actually invoked in the Treaty (Alves 1999:20-22; Buick 1972:269; Goldsmith 2005:66-67; King 2003:164; Smith 2005:51-52; Walker 2004:90-95). Despite these questions and issues, the Treaty can be seen as having accomplished what it set out to do on the British side of the equation. Hobson on 21 May 1840 declared New Zealand's sovereignty under the British Crown despite the fact that the Treaty was not signed by every chief then at Waitangi and the delegation sent to the South Island had not yet returned (Walker 2004:97). Viewing it in hindsight, some conclude the Treaty's convoluted and contorted creation simply set the stage for future social and legal conflict, and a collision between Māori and those aligned to the Crown and its interests (Durie 1998:3). In fact, it was not long until a telling event[2] occurred which evinced the divergent understandings and expectations of the Treaty that were held by all those involved.

[2] A clash occurred in Wairau in 1843 between armed settlers (who were poorly trained and wielding faulty muskets) led by Captain Wakefield of the New Zealand Company and the area's Ngāti Toa tribe. The settlers, citing the Treaty, asserted that the land there was now theirs and did not wait for any due process to resolve the matter (Alves 1999:22; Walker 2004:101-102). Wakefield led the settlers in a move to bluff chief Te Rauparaha into backing down, and when one of the settlers' muskets accidentally fired, a fray ensued and the chief's wife was shot and killed (Walker 2004:101-102) Open battle commenced, and for the tribe, utu, the restoration of balance—in this case the taking of a commensurate life— was required for the killing of the chief's wife so as to protect his and their mana.

Over the ensuing thirty years, the Treaty was accorded increasingly less importance and relevance by successive colonial governments. Declarations made before and during the 1870s proclaimed that it had no legal or binding basis for New Zealand citizens or governments (Alves 1999:37; Durie 1998:178,180-181; Smith 2005:49). In the intervening years leading up to the twentieth century most of New Zealand's land suited for farming had been removed from Māori control and transferred into the hands of the government and settlers, leaving an estimated 2 million farm-friendly hectares for Māori (King 2003:469; Walker 2004:139; Salmond 2012:117; Smith 2005:68). In these events there were some who were not unsympathetic to the plight of hapū and iwi. John Balance, as Native Minister, and Prime Minister Richard Seddon, attempted to protect tribal holdings, rights and resources, but were daunted by political exigencies of the day that prevented wider sympathy for their ideas and the plight of Māori (Alves 1999:36).

Language was another front where Treaty rights were denied to Māori. For Māori, who did not possess a written language, oration became an art form crucial to the retention and longevity of their way of life and identity (Durie 1998:58-59,115). Flouting both Treaty and basic human rights, Māori school children from 1847 to the mid-1950s were increasingly prevented from using their native language at school recesses and then in the classroom (Durie 1998:59-61; Walker 2004:146-148). These actions produced a foreign and hostile environment for many young Māori, prevented them from becoming and remaining fluent in Te Reo Māori, eroded their identity, and worked to enforce a "cultural surrender" (Walker 2004:147).

It is clear from New Zealand's history that the Treaty (regardless of the version in question) was largely ignored at best and flagrantly contravened at worst well into the first half of the twentieth century (Orange 1989:44-45,48,55-63,68-70,73-74). A number of factors and events, however, combined to raise the Treaty and issues associated with it to the public fore, culminating in a number of laws that came to centrally place it at the intersection of social debate concerning land, culture, economics, Māori relations and rights, and conservation (Orange 1989:63,68-78). As part of a wider nation-building exercise, the government passed the (1967) Waitangi Day Act, which set aside 6 January every year as a day of thanksgiving to celebrate the Treaty as "the cornerstone" of the nation (Walker 2004:211). In 1971 protestors suggested the occasion should instead be a day of mourning, highlighting the government's treatment of Māori and the Treaty as the instrument by which Māori were dispossessed of 25.2 million hectares of land (Walker 2004:211; see Orange 1989:75-76). The shamed government then sought advice from the Māori Council, an

organisation established by the government in 1962, to advise and help the government improve Māori cultural, social, and economic well-being (incidentally, Māori chiefs had wanted and suggested this over fifty years previous) (Walker 2004:203-25). The Council informed the government of fourteen statutes in breach of the second article of the Treaty, giving credence to the protestors' argument, and in conjunction with a growing national awareness of Treaty breaches, the government, under the guidance and zeal of Matiu Rata, Minister of Māori Affairs, eventually responded by passing the (1975) Treaty of Waitangi Act (Orange 1989:76; Smith 2005:228-229; Walker 2004:211-212).

Another sequence of events contributing to the Treaty's modern florescence was the government's passing of the (1967) Māori Affairs Amendment Act despite strong, well-penned dissent and alternative solutions provided by the Māori Council and academics it consulted (Walker 2004:206-207). The Act and its artifice, based on the (1965) Pritchard-Waetford Report, simply instituted a further means by which the government could remove "unused" or under-utilised land from Māori (Walker 2004:207). Seen as a yet another land theft, the Act was a trigger for the Māori land rights movement that emerged over the following decade (Walker 2004:207,212). In the midst of this movement, a land march or hīkoi in 1975 travelled the length of the North Island to reach the Parliament Buildings in Wellington, and succeeded in bringing attention to the plight of the colonised and marginalised Tangata Whenua, and ensured that the Treaty, and the need for redress for wrongs committed against them, could not be ignored (Durie 1998:175; Smith 2005:228-229; Walker 2004:212-213).

While all of this was going on, a number of ecological problems and successes across the country highlighted issues of conservation and resource use all over the country, and indirectly underscored the long pattern of Treaty of Waitangi breaches. Longstanding efforts to save the picturesque Lake Manapouri from the deleterious effects of a proposed hydro-dam reached a successful conclusion by 1972 and in the process, raised issues of local Māori cultural needs and rights (Young 2004:172-174). From 1977 farmers were encouraged to contribute to conservation by fencing off, and preserving in-perpetuity, native bush on their properties by means of a covenant through the Queen Elizabeth II Trust (QEII), an organisation created through law and established to create and oversee these permanent covenants (Young 2004:192). Gordon Stephenson, the farmer who came up with the farm-based conservation arrangement, set the example in 1965 by fencing off 8.3ha of bush on his own farm. By 2002, more than 50,000ha of private land was under conservation covenant through the QEII Trust (Young 2004:192).

Public interest in national parks also increased from the mid-1960s and throughout the 1970s, with reverberating effects in conservation and in eco-reserve organisations. Many began to see that natural and cultural heritage are intertwined, and that government needed to create laws to simultaneously protect habitat and enable Māori to practise customary rights. Over the next two decades this resulted in over 1000 reserves being assessed, improvements in ranger training, upgrades to educational facilities, the creation of new biotic sanctuaries on nearly 10,000ha of land, and numerous forest parks (Young 2004:189-190).

The passage of the (1975) Treaty of Waitangi Act formally placed the Treaty at long last within law, and a tribunal was established to investigate ways to practically interpret it in the present relative to the specific breaches tribes and hapū alleged in lodged claims (Durie 1998:184; Dominy 1990:12; Smith 2005:228-229). The Tribunal, however, was not truly effective until the appointment of Justice Durie in 1981. Durie made a point of attempting to help non-Māori New Zealanders understand the Treaty, the obligations the government had under it, and what it truly meant to Māori (Smith 2005:231-232; Young 2004:192-193). However, the (1975) Treaty of Waitangi Act had no "teeth" until an amendment was passed in 1985 that extended the reach of the law retroactively back to 1840; that this was the real game-changer for Māori is evidenced by the sharp jump in claims lodged in 1987, which more than doubled the number of those lodged between 1975 and 1986 (36 compared to 88) (Durie 1998:184; Young 2004:192).

Some of the Tribunal's early cases reflected and amplified the social trend which coupled concerns for the environment with contemporary concerns for Māori social and cultural issues: a claim over sewage effluent into Te Atiawa tribe's traditional shellfish beds in Taranaki brought forward, made familiar, and embedded Māori words and terms like kaimoana (food from the sea) and wairua (reductively glossed as 'spirit') into common New Zealand English (Young 2004:193-194). A claim concerning Manukau Harbour did the same for the term taonga (treasured or valued elements through a relationship), and a Te Arawa subtribe case noted the spiritual harm (in addition to other harms) being caused by effluent being released into their ancestral Kaituna River (Young 2004:193-194). These and other cases communicated nuanced aspects of Māori culture and beliefs to a wider audience beginning with those in the practice of law and environmental management. Māori rules and beliefs concerning tapū and wairua became more widely known and viewed as prudent and certainly applicable to, and compatible with, conservationism (Young 2004:193-195). For a time the shared path of conservationism and Māori beliefs looked to continue hand in hand,

but as Young (2004:195) points out, the seeming incompatibility of concepts like sustainable cultural harvesting and preservation has often separated the two.

Concepts raised in these early Tribunal cases, however, were absorbed into the (1991) Resource Management Act (RMA) (Durie 1998:22,31; Young 2004:195). With the creation of the Department of Conservation in 1986 and the passing of the RMA, New Zealand's government signalled, at best, that the nation was in the business of conservation, or at least, that it was concerned with the comprehensive, sustainable management of resources. These developments did however lend more support to the rising power and influence of Māori in the management of national resources. The RMA, in acknowledging the Treaty, asserts a place for Tangata Whenua in the resource consent process, citing the special relationship between Māori and ancestral lands, sacred sites and other taonga (Young 2004:195,209,219; see also RMA 1991, sections 6 and 7).

The creation and passage of the (1975) Treaty of Waitangi Act also produced another effect linked to Māori–environmental concerns. The Act in the use of a certain phrase made reference to principles[3] which were seen as being embedded within the Treaty itself. The phrase, "the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi", was soon included in a few other acts, including the (1986) State Owned Enterprises Act (which enabled the transfer of state-owned property to Māori tribes as redress for Treaty breaches), the (1986) Environment Act, and the (1987) Conservation Act (Dominy 1990:12; Kauwharu 1989:213-214; Walker 2004: 265). In a landmark case brought before the Court of Appeal in 1987, the court considered whether land and assets divested from Māori and currently under government ownership could be subsumed into government owned private enterprises (State Owned Enterprises). It concluded that though the Treaty was merely embryonic, it contained principles New Zealand's government and Māori should observe, namely that the Crown in good faith should protect Māori in the use of what lands and resources they owned, whilst Māori should dutifully accept and cooperate with the Crown and its government (Alves 1999:62-64; Walker 2004:263-265).

[3] Late-twentieth century scholarship and debate related to Māori cultural assertions and the passage of Treaty laws permitting Māori redress for Treaty breaches, produced discourse that reified an intention in the Treaty to form a bicultural nation. Connected to this, certain core, or guiding principles are seen to exist: Māori and Pākehā should respect their respective cultural backgrounds, form one society via shared ideals, standards and partnership, and protect Māori culture and rights of self-determination.

The ruling recognised the fact that the inclusion of the phrase "principles of the Treaty" in recent legislative acts meant the government could no longer maintain its honour whilst ruling over Māori and dishonouring the Treaty, an assertion which began the process of decolonisation in New Zealand (Walker 2004:265). Through language in the (1984) Maori Affairs Bill, and in determinations made by the Treaty Tribunal in cases brought before it in the years that followed, these "principles" were identified as a regard for the Treaty as a symbol of a special relationship between Māori and the Crown, and a recognition that the mana and rangātiratanga, or rights of Māori self-determination, and Māori interests, including their language and culture, were to be protected in exchange for their full acceptance of the Queen's government and Her protection (Alves 1999:63-65; Walker 2004:265-268). Soon thereafter cases and tribunal decisions began to invoke these principles or reference Māori cultural values, which, in conjunction with the use of Māori words and phrases in the RMA, laid the foundation for a tangible move away from monocultural jurisprudence, and the launching of a bicultural one (Durie 1998:31; Walker 2004:266-267). The tribunal also added the protection of Te Reo Māori as a principle when it ruled that the language was a taonga and that with the Treaty's use of the term "guarantee", the Crown was obligated to actively protect Māori language and culture (Walker 2004:268). These distilled principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, which have increasingly been referenced and alluded to in sundry situations, can be summarised and thematically grouped as partnership, rangatiratanga and active protection (Walker 2004:268).

The sitting Commissioner for the Environment at the time, Helen Hughes, in recognising these principles, recommended that within existing social structures, especially central and regional seats of power, a change to power structures should be made to produce an increased role for Tangata Whenua in decision-making processes (Walker 2004:268). In other words, Māori were recognised as deserving of a more integral role in public and governmental processes and decision-making bodies. Organisations and bodies needed to both recognise their special relationship with the Crown through the Treaty, and by extension, New Zealand, and ensure they had a chance to partner in any decision-making processes. This recommendation and level of inclusion was viewed as especially prudent and necessary in matters that are of especial interest to Māori relative to the Treaty and the (in)action of the Crown, past, present or future, be they related to resource management, conservation, land use, the practice of their language, protocol, et cetera.

The Treaty then, and how it came about, constitutes a catalyst behind accelerated change in New Zealand. Māori leaders and British representatives did not exactly have the same construal of what the Treaty meant for the two parties and what it said. Further, multiple, but slightly differing British and Māori versions of the Treaty consequently caused disagreement as to who really held land and resource rights, and the right to govern Māori and all of New Zealand. This brought discord, skirmishes and wars. The British, confident in their Treaty rights to govern and colonise all of New Zealand, encouraged settlement and land development, which only heightened tensions. The flow of European immigrants further divided and marginalised Māoridom as it hedged groups in and/or alienated land and resources from iwi and hapū, saw land cleared for farming and forestry, and further accelerated the introduction of foreign plants and animals. The result writ large was a landscape in flux and the formation of a new society marked by a culturally Western-based, European settler society and an increasingly assimilated Māori people. Finally, the Treaty of Waitangi, through more recent legislation, jurisprudence and evolving societal debate, has increased awareness of Māori culture, history and rights in New Zealand and increasingly places Māori and their interests at the nexus of public policy deliberation concerning the stewardship, use and conservation of land, indigenous biota and natural resources for the present and the foreseeable future.

CHAPTER V

CULTURE, BICULTURALISM AND STAKEHOLDER INTERACTION

Within MEIT meetings, culture is present in the way its shapes and influences the thought, actions and goals stakeholder trustees encounter and wield in MEIT project tasks, challenges and debates. Culture is present in the attitudes and values against which decisions and options are considered and chosen. Additionally, culture typically manifests itself in MEIT meetings in obvious ways, such as the manner in which meetings are structured and managed and group decisions made. Culture is manifested in the issues and topics that are given weight over other concerns. Culture manifests as concerns related to protocol, or how the Trust operates in assigning tasks and responsibilities, and how, when, and where stakeholders are able to generally interact, and even what expressions of cultural identity and rights are made, along with the airing of cultural needs or deference for certain needs or issues, and how these are received and addressed by a stakeholder group.

The importance of their interactions, or more precisely, the health of their interactions, cannot be overstated. If a stakeholder group felt disenfranchised or that they were being marginalised in the Trust's decision-making processes, they could withdraw their vital support. Likewise, if they felt that their cultural beliefs or values were being ignored or trampled on, they could stymie project progress or again, withdraw. Should Mana Whenua become unhappy with the organisation of meetings or the way decisions were being made, for example, they could refuse to participate in various ways. They could not attend meetings, abstain from votes, not provide feedback or information, or deny permission for project workers to be on their lands. Mana Whenua could even refuse to secure animals for translocation from other iwi in the country. Similarly, Pākehā adjoining landowner stakeholders could also withdraw support and manifest their disapproval relative to a decision or situation. They could likewise curtail participation in meetings, deny project workers access to repair portions of the pest-proof fence on their property or regular maintenance of it, or even go so far as removing any portion of the fence on their property not secured by a legal instrument. Any one of these moves also has the potential to unravel the multi-stakeholder sphere of the Trust, prevent MEIT meeting required responsibilities, hinder project progress, foul public perceptions of the project and jeopardise the inflow of funding from a number of key sources. Should any one of these developments occur, it would seriously jeopardise the project, the biodiversity conservation on the mountain, and produce a

number of consequences that could negatively affect the stakeholder groups the region indefinitely.

It is clearly important then to ascertain the impact, the role that culture is playing in the interrelations of MEIT's stakeholder groups in the context of meetings. This chapter focuses on MEIT board and other meetings and examines, in particular, the ways that cultural, through its human carriers, is affecting efforts at partnership in the project. A few core questions guide this chapter's inquiry. Given the Trust has the stated goal of honouring the principles of the Treaty, has biculturalism been the guiding ideal or the predominant socio-political approach within MEIT? If not, what socio-political approach was its goal and to what degree has it been implemented? Otherwise, as a default, has interaction in the Trust and project largely been a monocultural experience for most of its participants? What cultural notions, beliefs, values and practices are part of, or brought into multi-stakeholder interaction and surface in Trust board and/or any of its auxiliary meetings? Most importantly, how have representatives from the stakeholders groups from differing sociocultural backgrounds navigated instances of decision-making and debate on project aspects powerfully linked to cultural needs, beliefs, values, and practices they espouse and practise? Lastly, how have these interactions between stakeholders in the Trust materially affected the project?

In order to sufficiently address these questions and achieve the aims of this chapter, a number of tasks must be accomplished. First, an overview or review of Trust meetings must be assembled and presented, which identifies the cultural notions, beliefs and practices, and/or references to them, that both Māori and Pākehā participants displayed, expressed and/or discussed in meetings. Further, an assessment is needed that identifies how these expressions were generally received and handled by the sociocultural group which did not produce the expression and the by Trust overall and which determines the condition of the multi-stakeholder partnership at the time of each meeting. The first section accomplishes this in two ways. First, embryonic and formal Trust meetings from the project's roots in 2000 through February 2010 are surveyed and reviewed. The primary data source for meetings which occurred before my time in New Zealand is the minutes the Trust kept of them. In the second section, meetings from March 2010 through June 2012 which I attended in person are assessed using personal notes and the Trust's official minutes. A number of exchanges from these meetings are presented and unpacked in an ethnographic fashion. The third chapter section provides a detailed review of an entire meeting to provide a more complete, representative example of Trust meetings and a clear, direct view of project stakeholder interaction. The meeting evaluated in this section is the Trust's 28 May 2012 board meeting.

The section concludes with a discussion that presents contextualising material in an analysis of stakeholder interaction and which specifically highlights examples of the sociocultural concepts, ideas, and values affecting the multi-stakeholder interaction sphere of MEIT. The final section of this chapter utilizes all the data and material from the previous sections to provide an overall assessment of multi-stakeholder collaboration in relation to culture and biculturalism within MEIT from its inception through June 2012.

In regards to the meetings I did not directly observe, which occurred between July 2000 and through February 2010, the official minutes were carefully reviewed and data from them were tabulated in an Excel spreadsheet. The data collected was the questions, issues and concerns connected to cultural ideas, values and concepts that arose in discussion and debates, as well as any overt cultural actions/performances which were mentioned (e.g. karakia or prayers). Further, the sociocultural affiliation of those behind the cultural expression was noted along with the ways these expressions were received and handled among stakeholder representatives. A full meeting survey, which more directly presents the tabulated data, is located in Appendix H due to space considerations. An assessment of this data and survey, located in the first subsection below, provides an analysis of MEIT stakeholder interaction in these meetings relative to the chapter's aims.

In the second section, MEIT meetings which I directly observed during fieldwork are examined relative to cultural issues and the quality of multi-stakeholder interaction. To gain an overall sense of multi-stakeholder interaction and the cultural issues which were raised, I reviewed my notes of MEIT board meetings from March 2010 through June 2012. Thereafter, five MEIT board meetings were selected at random for review. This fieldwork-based MEIT multi-stakeholder interaction review is located in Appendix I. In general, I attended almost every type of meeting the Trust or its stakeholders held, including monthly MEIT board meetings, special Trust meetings, executive committee meetings, annual general meetings, weekly management meetings, biodiversity sub-committee meetings, finance and fundraising sub-committee meetings, education sub-committee meetings, landowner meetings, volunteer meetings, community meetings in relation to the MEIT project, and more. However, the meetings selected at random for inclusion were selected from a group limited to those meetings which were either special or monthly MEIT board meetings as they formally involve the project's stakeholders and their representatives and constitute the venue in which key debates and/or guiding decisions were made. Each meeting review indicates the sociocultural issue or expression or need raised by an individual or group and how it was handled by the other stakeholders and the Trust and includes an initial assessment of the state

of the multi-stakeholder partnership exhibited in the meeting. A final analysis of these five meetings is included in the concluding section of this chapter.

This second section also includes two more detailed surveys that examine stakeholder interaction in a few meetings in relation to a core sociocultural theme or topic. Each unpacks the nuance of the exchange, identifies the cultural issues at play, and assesses the multi-stakeholder interaction in the meeting exchange or debate. The two themes examined are: one) notions of what constitutes a "stakeholder" group; and two) property rights as sociocultural relations.

Section three of the chapter critically explores a single Trust board meeting to provide a more in-depth view and representation of multi-stakeholder interaction and the grasp the tenor of their interactions in addition to identifying the sociocultural expressions, actions, and needs stakeholders expressed in the meeting. A detailed discussion of this meeting then follows. In conjunction with chapter two's examination of how the project began, the pre-fieldwork and fieldwork-based meeting surveys, reviews, and detailed meeting examination produce a clear picture of multi-stakeholder relations throughout the project to the time of my departure in mid-2012. Additionally, this picture highlights the sociocultural issues, expressions and needs stakeholders brought into the project, how they were received and handled in the multi-stakeholder interaction sphere, and how the project was affected by them.

2000-2010 Trust Meeting Survey

The 2000 to 2010 meeting survey affords a glimpse into the multi-stakeholder interactive sphere and reveals the pressing issues at the heart of critical exchanges between stakeholders in the formative years of the Trust and project. In the December 2000 meeting, few inter-cultural concerns arose, but in the few that did, stakeholders listened to one another and engaged in collaborative interaction to solve mutually-held concerns. In the July 2001 meeting, issues and needs arose that were tabled by only one party or the other, but these issues were worked through and resolved, and stated needs made by one party were accepted by the other. Concerning the March 2002 meeting, a large majority of concerns and Mana Whenua views were tabled and ostensibly accepted by the Trust. In a rare instance, where a position expressed by one hapū differs from that of other hapū, the Trust and non-iwi stakeholders treaded carefully and acknowledged the divergent position and took it under advisement. Both parties shared a concern for land and resource rights, acknowledging the problems they each faced with the fence's construction and presence. In this exchange and

meeting, room was clearly being made for Mana Whenua needs, concerns and ideas. In the survey for the February 2003 meeting it is apparent again that a number of significant needs and concerns pertinent to Mana Whenua culture, taonga and aspirations, were tabled and accepted by the other primary stakeholder group, including requests for: a prohibition against mountain biking on Maungatautari; the completion of a northern sub-enclosure before any other; and plans for a Mana Whenua tourism and kaitiaki management centre. Requests by non-iwi stakeholders regarding minimised development on the maunga, and an entreaty to partner to achieve mutual goals, was accepted by Mana Whenua, making this meeting a clear example of a two-way partnership.

The July 2003 meeting survey came in with the most entries at eleven, and evinces data that in cases points to some differing needs between the two core stakeholders and the emergence of divergent stances on the nature of the relationship each stakeholder group has with the Trust or to each other. Additionally, a number of issues foment debate and discussion but do not produce a motion for want of a clear, widely accepted path forward. A few concerns or thoughts raised by both parties are jointly accepted or positively acknowledged, such as the karakia invocation, the move to form an executive committee, the specification of QEII covenants and rāhui as two valid methods to protect project land and the fence, and the need for a memorandum of understanding (MoU) between Mana Whenua and MEIT which specifies iwi protocol and project expectations. Debate surrounding this MoU was particularly revelatory. The Trust's deputy chairperson, being also the primary architect of the Trust's deed, felt incongruence existed in any Mana Whenua need for a MoU. Mana Whenua, in making this request for the preservation of their interests via this MoU, gave notice to other stakeholders that they were unconventional trustees: their first priority in the Trust was not the project, but the protection of Mana Whenua interests. Overall, 'partnership' could describe this meeting; however, some issues were jointly navigated whilst others raised by either group went unaddressed or unresolved. Each group seemed to allow for some needs of the other, but there is evidence of slightly differing goals and the need for a reassessment of the multi-stakeholder Trust relationship.

In the survey of the March 2004 meeting, major issues of a sociocultural nature, which affect the project, are understood and accepted by the stakeholder groups. However, one item and a development or pattern noted in this survey elicits concerns: walking track work on a Māori whanau's land block is being done absent a formal land access agreement, and this is another meeting in which an iwi/Mana Whenua/hapū report is not provided, and again remaining stakeholders make no move to question this or elicit a lodge a request to

have one the following month. This means hapū concerns and feedback is not being delivered to the Trust. It may very well have been the fault of Mana Whenua trustees that no report was prepared and provided, but the lack of the other stakeholder group specifically mentioning the pattern and politely making a request for reports in the future can logically be interpreted as a deterioration of engagement and failure to actively demonstrate a desire for partnership on the part of both groups. The survey of the May 2005 meeting reveals a clear indication that Pākehā stakeholder trustees were quite prepared to accept Mana Whenua input on at least two key issues: tikanga observance during faunal reintroductions and track development/stabilisation. They indicated they would accept Mana Whenua guidance on what tikanga should be observed in connection with a kiwi bird reintroduction and how a heavily used over-the-mountain track should be stabilised, as protests to it development and stabilisation through metalling had been lodged. Incidentally, an iwi report is made at this meeting. Notably, the stakeholders discuss the imperative of good communication and common ground to avoid the development of factions in the Trust. Thus, this meeting was a standout example of mutual trust, two-way sociocultural inclusion, and commitment to intentional partnership between the stakeholder groups.

The survey of the December 2005 meeting paints a picture of Mana Whenua seeking a number of interrelated requests aimed at satisfying sociocultural needs and responsibilities they shoulder, all of which are accepted by their stakeholder counterparts, and culminates in the meeting chair's general request for further direction to hone reintroduction processes for all stakeholders. The meeting was one of open listening, understanding, and mutual respect. However, the April 2007 meeting is a different story. A number of oversteps or missteps, perhaps committed innocently or inadvertently, arose in the meeting. The lack of any invitation for formal karakia for the meeting or for the pre-release aviary already being built on the maunga, the misstep of suggesting someone not of Mana Whenua report to MEIT on Tangata/Mana Whenua advisory committee meetings, and the silence that answered a Mana Whenua request to be included in the processes that create and manage any tourism venture, eclipse acceptances of Mana Whenua requests in the meeting. The oversights, including acknowledgement that Mana Whenua— who have kaitiaki responsibilities for kiwi and other reintroduced taonga— were not notified or consulted over the death of a kiwi, stand in contrast to many inter-cultural and inclusive meetings from the year prior, wherein proactive cooperative partnership was more prevalent.

The May 2008 Trust meeting could be summed as one focused on solidifying the multi-stakeholder relationship. Mana Whenua representatives and one of NKK's Treaty claim representatives made declarations concerning their Treaty claim and their intent to pursue settlement regardless of what MEIT does or how it might affect it and/or the project. Other stakeholders made a request for more Mana Whenua engagement in the Tangata Whenua committee, declared their view that the claim on Maungatautari is less about ownership and more about co-management with Mana Whenua wherein Māori tikanga and customary rights would be included, and suggested that central government be tactfully advised that any settlement involving a change of legal ownership of Maungatautari might produce negative funding implications for the project. Each position was accepted within the Trust and resulted in a passed resolution in support of NKK's claim for Maungatautari in conjunction with their Waikato River claim. In terms of partnership, the meeting constituted a mutual show of commitment to each stakeholder group's particular needs (in this case, more for Mana Whenua) and seemed to be constructive.

In contrast, the survey of the October 2009 meeting reveals a multi-stakeholder Trust relationship in turmoil. Amidst Trust plans to make redundant all office staff positions to prevent financial insolvency, the staff signalled they would resign before being made redundant, and Mana Whenua, upset at these developments and the imminent loss of CEO Mylchreest, protested through Tao Taurao's resignation, requesting better communication amongst all stakeholder groups and greater Mana Whenua inclusion in management affairs. All in the Trust seem to have acknowledged the concern and request. However, a concern held by community and landowner trustees for increased and consistent marae representation at Trust meetings, and a reminder that partnership more than mere consultation was a goal jointly held by Mana Whenua and WDC, went unaddressed in the meeting. Thus, the meeting survey reveals a multi-stakeholder state characterised by disappointment at a lack of participation and communication, mistrust and a fear born of uncertainty. The final meeting surveyed indirectly, February 2010, illustrates a Trust still in the throes of reconfiguring its structure to produce co-management and/or proper oversight. Relative to a few decisions and plans, efforts were made to satisfy each stakeholder group's needs or wants, though some disjuncture was evident. At this time, the Trust's partnership seemed healthier, but one still somewhat unsettled.

Fieldwork-based Multi-stakeholder Interaction

From March 2010 I attended MEIT board and management meetings, as well as various sub-committees, executive committee and other special meetings in connection with the project. Most often, I sat there and listened to the trustee and stakeholder exchanges whilst taking notes[1]. Regularly, stakeholders raised and dealt with a litany of issues, concerns, problems, policies and more. With some regularity, these matters were linked to notions, needs or responsibilities of a cultural nature, as can be seen in the previous subsection. This subsection, however, differs in that the meetings reviewed are ones I actually observed, and on some occasions, participated in. Though I participated in numerous types of project and Trust meetings, to maintain a focus on stakeholder interaction, the meetings reviewed here are MEIT board or other special meetings. In preparing this subsection, I first reviewed all my notes of each Trust and project meeting I attended, noting the tenure of multi-stakeholder interaction and the range of issues that arose. I then selected five meetings which were not only characteristic of all the meetings, but also rich in content. These five meetings were again reviewed in further depth and condensed relative to the concerns, needs, notions, of a more overt cultural nature that arose in multi-stakeholder interaction. These five reviews, for space considerations, are located in Appendix I. Importantly, they clearly highlight the sociocultural issues and concerns which were characteristically present during MEIT multi-stakeholder discussions and which affected the project in some fashion. Further, each review summarises the tenor of collaboration in that meeting. Using these focused reviews, a summary and initial analysis of these meetings was produced and is provided below.

To complete the aims of this subsection, two ethnographic surveys are included. These surveys focus on stakeholder interaction relative to a single theme or topic that accesses cultural notions, beliefs and values. Each survey critically examines the nuance of the exchange, identifies the culturally-bound issues behind concerns and needs stakeholders expressed, and assesses the multi-stakeholder interaction in the meeting exchange. The first survey takes as its theme the differing notions by which a stakeholder group is recognised or defined, or by what common elements a stakeholder group can be said to exist. The second survey concerns the sociocultural-bound notions and relations between stakeholders relative to property, be it land, biota or inanimate things. Each ethnographic survey includes analysis

[1] Occasionally, and most especially when I was volunteering in a fundraising capacity, I briefly spoke and interacted in formal board meetings, relative to funding efforts and initiatives. In late 2011 and in 2012, there were also some occasions when I was asked by the Trust to take the minutes of board meetings, which I formulated from my notes, which Trust staff then formatted to suit their purposes.

and a brief summary. Taken together, the meeting review, with its assessment, and the surveys provide a view of MEIT multi-stakeholder interaction relative to the sociocultural issues and needs representatives navigated in meetings, and the tenor of their collaboration throughout my time with the project.

Fieldwork-based Meeting Assessment

The five meetings reviewed span March 2010 to January 2012. To be a candidate for review, most, if not all of the stakeholder representatives needed to be in attendance. Representation for Pākehā or other stakeholders was always adequate as about two thirds of the trustees were from this category. However, there were meetings where only one or two Mana Whenua representatives were in attendance. Thus, the selected meetings needed to have at least three Mana Whenua/marae representatives to be included.

The 25 March 2010 special Trust board workshop meeting presents a unique view into the multi-stakeholder relationship because of its format and when it occurred. The major issue before the trustees was the effort to restructure the Trust to reconfigure the trustee numbers to bring about equal numbers of Mana Whenua and remaining stakeholder representatives. Notably, in one exchange the more concrete identity of Mana Whenua was highlighted in contrast to what was opined as a disjointed "non-iwi" stakeholder group. Another notable statement, made by Tao Tauroa, was a desire for the Trust to be culturally-safe. With a certain tourism proposal presented, and a request for Mana Whenua to immediately support it without consulting with their constituents, this meeting evinces a multi-stakeholder collaborative sphere that was more consultative than partnership, and which again saw Māori as those being most bicultural.

The 2 December 2010 Trust meeting, run tightly under the chair of Doug Arcus, focused on the issues of the Trust's restructure and NKK's impending Treaty settlement and how this could affect the Trust and project. Little room, if any, was permitted to enable sharing or deep understanding of any nuance behind concerns of a cultural nature. However, the meeting was cordial in nature, if dry. Given the terse and clinical manner in which the meeting was conducted, Māori sensibilities, especially those connected to expressing dissent by remaining silent or seated (c.f. Metge 2005:85-86), could have been trampled upon.

At the 11 August 2011 open meeting, the Trust invited the community to provide their views on the proposed Trust restructuring. Comments and ideas shared in this meeting evinced a community open to a restructure to better enable Mana Whenua to ensure their cultural needs and responsibilities could be met. Further, a number of ideas were presented by

non-iwi trustees, which are intended to foster partnership and biculturalism in MEIT and the project. This meeting then stands out clearly as an example of a culturally-inclusive meeting marked by partnership.

The 21 September 2011 Trust meeting provides a view of multi-stakeholder relations during a critical Trust rebuilding period. Various issues were dealt with in this meeting, though in common they all concerned property. Notably, the issues pertained to economics, politics, kaitiakitanga of biota and land, land access and other rights, and ways NKK's Treaty claim, specifically the request for Maungatautari scenic reserve land, could affect stakeholder relations and the project: all aspects of culturally-embedded property relations. In their discussions, stakeholders navigated their differences, taking the time to understand the other's position, and the beliefs and notions behind them.

The 31 January 2012 Trust meeting took place at a time when distinct and contrary factions had come to exist in the community relative to the MEIT and the project. Exhibiting the new and controversial co-chair arrangement, Karaitiana Tamatea, as one of two Trust co-chairs, led the meeting. Consequently, more depth and explanation was provided relative to Māori cultural beliefs and NKK history. Open interaction between stakeholders was repeatedly invited, and all were afforded the chance to see that their concerns and needs were adequately understood and addressed.

Representing the multi-stakeholder relations over the time period in which I directly observed meetings, these meetings depict a general pattern of increasing attention in the Trust to foster biculturalism and partnership. A full review of each and every meeting matches this pattern, but does include meetings which, though not entirely monocultural, still were not bicultural in nature. Overall, Trust stakeholder relations in meetings, though heavily tasked by the need to address outside pressures and the efforts of the disenfranchised, improved. The adoption of the co-chair arrangement and an open, if long and circuitous process of restructuring the Trust and a slight reconfiguration of stakeholder representation at the trust board, stand out as the two core factors behind this improvement.

Thematic Survey One: Reassessing the "Stakeholder"

On the evening of 25 March 2010 a special Trust board workshop meeting was held to discuss a proposal concerning a possible restructuring of the Trust and how this should or could happen, to ensure it would be durable and more representative of all stakeholders. In this debate, Gordon Stephenson stressed that MEIT should be a partnership. That the comment came from him makes sense. He was the primary architect behind the Trust's

original deed. In conversations with him, and from comments he made in this meeting and others, he envisioned the biodiversity project to be an extension of partnership that first united adjoining landowners on all sides of Maungatautari, and then brought them into partnership with Mana Whenua, and to a lesser, extent, all else in the community. It was a partnership that reflected one he saw as potentially existing throughout the country. Being quite logical, he fully expected lively debate on issues between these stakeholders, but envisioned Trust decisions being made via consensus and in the interest of the project first.

In the meeting's discussion, Mana Whenua were acknowledged to be a well-organised stakeholder group, while "non-iwi" were not. This stems from the fact that Mana Whenua are already organised, culturally, by kinship groups— whanau, hapū, and iwi— that are the basis of a social structure that is variously responsible for significant social relationships. Long before the project began, NKK, like so many other Tangata Whenua throughout the country, regularly held marae meetings, attended tangi of deceased relatives and contributed to debate and decisions at the marae/hapū and iwi levels. Being based on family ties, genealogy and culture, this structure and its social experiences are more central to identity and have the potential to be more connected to wide, vested interests than those which unify, or are the focus of, a social club or civic group. It transcends any notion of community based on polity or geographic boundaries. Further, as a stakeholder group, it is extensive compared to the other primary or core stakeholder group in the project: adjoining landowners. Trustees acknowledged this reality in the exchange. Pākehā in the project, whether an adjoining landowner, or as volunteers, were comparatively far less intertwined and solidified as a group. They had no existing, formal structure with which to regularly and collectively make decisions on behalf of all of them, nor which lent any weight to the reinforcement of any identity or the pursuit of various sociocultural needs and values they may or may not collectively espouse. Indeed, the use of the phrase "non-iwi" reflected a disjuncture and uncertainty among those in the Trust who were not iwi. In various discussions among them, some openly accepted the term 'Pākehā', and others did not. As an unmarked category of people, they could not decide on what they were to be called from a sociocultural standpoint. For want of any agreed label or term, the phrase "non-iwi" often came to be used by those from both sociocultural stakeholder groups.

Despite this inherent "unevenness" between the stakeholders, a woman announced her concern relative to a perceived power attached to the adjoining landowner status, pointing out that most of the land in the project was publicly owned/held DOC land: a connection to Maungatautari, she opined, should not be restricted to blood and land ties. She was concerned

that adjoining landowners, who comprised a relatively small stakeholder group compared to Mana Whenua, were disproportionately exerting more influence in the Trust, the decisions it made, and the goals it pursued. In other words, she felt that Mana Whenua as a stakeholder group should wield more influence in the Trust and project than they had to date. To her comment, Tao Tauroa reminded everyone that with the Treaty settlement, DOC scenic reserve land on Maungatautari would come to Mana Whenua, under some sort of title, and indicated support for the proposed structure change, as it would, in his view, enable partnership. His view was that because Mana Whenua held the most private land in the project and would yet come to hold much more soon, the Trust structure should be reconfigured to match. It should, as he saw it, reflect and foster the intended partnership Stephenson envisioned. Via the restructure, trustee numbers would be recalibrated such that fifty percent would be Mana Whenua representatives, reflecting their wide and deep connection to Maungatautari and their rights as owners/stewards of most of the project land.

At this juncture, Alan Livingston asked why volunteers, who make the project possible, could not be considered a stakeholder. He asked why were they not being considered a rightful stakeholder given that their vast amounts of donated time and means were what made the project possible and so successful. In response, Tauroa allowed that they are a significant group in the project now, noting however, that when it started, their presence was small. In this, he acknowledged that volunteers had been the backbone of project progress, but that from the beginning, they were not present as a directly-linked stakeholder group because they had no formal connection to Maungatautari. Without saying it, he conveyed that volunteers did not own land on Maungatautari, derive a living on its slopes, or have collective mana whenua over land on the maunga through tribal or any other cultural links. Without such links, he did not consider volunteers a rightful stakeholder group, or at least one equal with Mana Whenua and adjoining landowners.

Such debate, over who was a stakeholder and what rights they held, surfaced periodically in the project. This was not the first nor the last time the subject arose. Key cognitive linkages, narratives, and obligations were being invoked to substantiate stakeholder status, whilst the lack of such linkages and obligations were being used to deny such status for others. For Mana Whenua, stakeholder status was being upheld by linkages through cultural stories illustrating long family/hapū presence on or around Maungatautari and the need to honour and maintain these links. More immediate needs were connected to these links. Care for taonga there, be it for animals introduced to the maunga, or animals and plants already there, fulfilled cultural needs and obligations. For adjoining landowners, this care for

Maungatautari, and the biota there, and the exact means by which the project would be made successful, had significant potential to impact their daily life and their livelihoods. It also touched their sensibilities and accessed their sense of stewardship for their farms and the condition of the surrounding environment, which again has the potential to affect their farm's level of success. These cultural values and needs were behind the positions being taken and debated in this exchange.

Importantly, I noted that the exchange, overall, was quite cordial. Many took the time to restate comments others made— a sign of active listening and healthy communication— before they put forward an opinion, rebuttal or statement, and most did not speak over one another. In aggregate, though the (re)determination of project stakeholder groups did not significantly change in this exchange, congenial communication seemed to occur amidst those present. Some Te Reo was sporadically used, but very little, and no translation was provided. The Trust's then sitting chair, David Wallace, conducted the meeting, and though he spoke a great deal, he permitted all others who wished to speak the chance to do so. By and large, cultural needs and issues were not overtly mentioned in this exchange because at this point in the project, and in this context, most parties and representatives in attendance had already long discussed such topics. Given that Trust meetings also occurred in the evenings, after the day's work, and there was usually much to cover and they often went late into the evening, I suspect many did not feel it necessary to break things down any further. However, assumptions of what others understand, when unverified or not ascertained in a specific context, can, as Metge and Kinloch (1978) have pointed out, lead to parties believing that they mutually understand one another, and yet they do not.

Thematic Survey Two: Collaboration and Property Relations

The Trust's 21 September 2011 meeting presents an opportunity to explore multi-stakeholder communication and interaction relative to the ideas, values and rules that govern property, or more accurately property rights— the relations between people relative to land and resources (Hann 1998:4). Various authors in Hann's (1998) edited volume explore culturally-framed property relations and rights. These normative cultural aspects dictate what an 'owner' can and cannot actually do with a property in a given society. They also outline what others in that society without those rights can and cannot do, in relation to any given property. These rights govern how the an 'owner', the possessor of the land rights, interacts with those without the land rights, relative to a certain property. The rules which stipulate what each party may or may not do vis-à-vis property stems from cultural notions and beliefs

of what property is and how it should be utilised or treated. These concepts, and the attitudes and values attached to them, are culturally-derived, and are embedded not only in social relations generally, but concretely within the political and economic spheres of a society. At the micro level, property relations constitute a large strand in a rope that is sociocultural identity (Hann 1998:3). Given that there are multiple facets to property relations for stakeholders of Maungatautari, from sacred sites, identity, economic production, biodiversity conservation, recreation, cultural harvesting, and more, it is fitting to examine biculturalism within an MEIT meeting that touches on many of these facets.

The meeting in question began with a karakia in Te Reo and some initial business. Most of the meeting however came to be focused on engendering mutual understanding and arriving at a consensus on a number of matters relative to property relations between project stakeholders. An initial matter raised in the meeting was the perception some in the Trust had that a few adjoining landowners were using the Maungatautari project as leverage to persuade the government vis-à-vis the Office of Treaty Settlements to prevent NKK from receiving Maungatautari scenic reserve land in their settlement. A few of these landowners had locked their access gates, denying project staff the chance to regularly inspect the fence and conduct project work on their land. In communications they made public through the Maungatautari Landowners Council, they indicated that the scenic reserve land should be given to Mana Whenua as it was meant to be land for all New Zealanders. Further, they felt the restructuring effort in the Trust was another move by Mana Whenua to gain more and undeserved control over the project.

Mana Whenua retorted that they had long been relegated to a minor role in the Trust/project, and with the lion's share of private land behind the project fence being theirs, and the looming reality of a Treaty settlement awarding them all the scenic reserve land on Maungatautari, they and others had promoted a Trust structure change to enable them to better look after their interests and lands rights in the project. To that point, no legal binding agreement had been penned to secure the project's fence as Trust property. Much of it was constructed on private land. Thus, these protesting landowners had the legal, socially-recognised right to deny access. The majority of those in the stakeholder groups disagreed with their denial of access, and in this meeting, jointly agreed to approach the government for help in the matter. They thought it incredible that a tribe's Treaty settlement should be conflated with the biodiversity project, and wanted the OTS to disregard these landowner's statements and intimations, which included the removal of the project's fencing on their lands should NKK receive Maungatautari scenic reserve land in their settlement.

In the meeting's discussion, stakeholders jointly recognised that individual landowners did have the right to exercise specific property rights which excluded others, but were hoping social pressure, linked to the overarching biodiversity imperatives the country faces and which the MEIT project was addressing, would prevent these "dissenting" landowners from bulldozing the fence from their properties. One property owner, however, did concern them more than any other. This owner had been recalcitrant and particularly vocal in opposition to an NKK settlement inclusive of scenic reserve land and a Trust restructure that seemed to favour Mana Whenua. The Trust discussed these issues and the fact that a significant portion of the project's fence was on this owner's property, making any fence relocation costly. At the end of the discussion, trustee Katarina Hodge complained that despite the evening's discussion and the Trust's decision to appeal to the government, she felt did not have enough information to bring to her hapū to make a decision on whether they, as a stakeholder, should support the Trust in an effort to remove the fence from this landowner's property. She wanted more exact information on the expense the Trust would face with any fence relocation or whether central, regional or local government bodies, or other entities would help cover this cost. Despite Hodge's complaint, no further discussion on the matter took place and the Trust moved on to another topic.

The next major discussion in the meeting concerned the possibility of winning a chance to bring and display the famed Sirocco on Maungatautari, a kākāpō, or large endemic terrestrial parrot used by DOC to advocate for endangered New Zealand species. Showing him off on the maunga was being touted as a way to bring new and positive press to the project and generate revenue. In many other discussions I witnessed, and in those recorded in minutes, debate on the matter of tourism relative to animals centred on striking a balance for desirable human–animal encounters and avoiding any moves toward making it a zoo. This discussion was no exception. When the topic was introduced, the meeting chair asked Mana Whenua what concerns they might have with hosting Sirocco. Tao Tauroa responded indicating that Maungatautari was not to become a zoo. His colleagues at the board table listened to his concern and request. However, there were no follow-up questions such as: what would he consider to be zoo-like, and would displaying Sirocco avoid this? Immediately thereafter an idea was announced: add an educational aspect to the Sirocco encounter, to enhance the experience of paying visitors.

This idea, along with a display pavilion and habitat for a Sirocco encounter, seemed out of place with a desire for the experience to be unlike that of a zoo. The Trust before had encountered decisions relative to the visitor–animal encounter. Bird feeders intended to quickly bulk up hihi when the understory of the bush was still not yet fully recovered were placed low in the canopy so that the birds could be readily seen by visitors (this also made it easy for volunteers to clean and refill them). Bird feeders filled with fruit were placed in a clearing in the Southern Enclosure to attract and feed takahe, kākāriki, and kākā birds. The location and their regular presence there were often touted by greeters as a visitor experience to not miss. A pre-release aviary, used to keep flight-capable bird pairs on the mountain, so that their hatchlings could imprint Maungatautari as their home, seemed a logical place for people to visit and get close to the birds that were being restored to the mountain. The two main open flights of the structure suited themselves perfectly for displays, which may have been designed for this in mind.

Later, educational material was posted there and a camera was added, so that visitors, upon pressing a button, could see a live feed of chicks in a nest. The display of birds there, whilst not permanent, was, far more than the other examples, very 'zoo-like'. Also, the structure was permanent. Further, it was located not far from a 16m tall canopy viewing tower which attracts visitors. Thus, a precedent existed for having educational materials, implements and practices, and permanent features to enhance the visitor experience. Moreover, the Trust had long established and supported Matapihi, its educational centre located near the ecological island, which taught schoolkids principles of ecology and biodiversity, and then took them up into an enclosure. For all these reasons, displaying Sirocco in a purpose-built enclosure, whether permanent or temporary, and providing education about kākāpō, was considered acceptable, even desirable, given the purpose was to raise the project's prominence, produce some revenue, educate and inform visitors, and even perhaps develop new volunteers and donors out of some.

The core issue in this matter, is the use/treatment of property, whether land, plants, or animals. Many Mana Whenua preferred Maungatautari to be as unencumbered with human structures, and non-natural, foreign materials as possible. Even so, they realised that some things were needed to promote the project and facilitate a level of safety for visitors. Some in the other stakeholder groups had variously posited the idea of having a tree-top walkway, or more extensive and/or lighted tracks. The site for Sirocco was to be the Southern Enclosure, which sits on scenic reserve and private land. Moreover, most, if not all, present considered all scenic reserve land on Maungatautari to be Mana Whenua land as it was 'their' maunga to

begin with. Thus, because the stakeholders at the time had the goal of working toward better partnership in the Trust, and they all agreed that hosting Sirocco would be a positive event for the project, they envisioned they would, in the end, host the Sirocco visitor experience in a manner that conformed to property use conditions they could all agree on. However, this may not have been the case. Before my time in New Zealand was up, I was part of a volunteer group that helped prepare a site in the Southern Enclosure for Sirocco. My task was to relocate small ferns to the living area pen for Sirocco. In doing this, and in several return visits to the enclosure, I observed the construction of the Sirocco display area. It was a poured concrete, steel girder pavilion. Some Mana Whenua I spoke with related that this was not to their liking and that in the rush to get it built other solutions using natural resources from Maungatautari itself were not considered. They were aware that the structure had to be safe and meet DOC requirements and other relevant safety regulations, but saw it as scar on the forest, a move in a direction away from Maungatautari remaining a more natural, scenic reserve. These sentiments mean that some tension and resentment will persist for some members of the Mana Whenua stakeholder group, which in the future affect decisions on other land and biotic use of resources on the maunga.

The final major issue concerning property rights which the Trust discussed in the meeting pertained to restoring visitor access to the project at the Southern Enclosure's main entrance. Apparently, at the beginning of the project a Māori family's land trust provided, at the minimum, verbal authorisation for MEIT to have the project incorporate some of their land (in and around the Southern Enclosure), which lies under and behind the main entrance of the Southern Enclosure for a good distance and extends eastward down to a stream. However, no legal paperwork could be discovered that seemingly set out any formal arrangement between the two organisations relative to the use of the land in the project and specifically to indemnify the family trust against liability relative to the presence and actions of project volunteers and public visitors. In 2011, following a few years of contention and uncertainty among the project's stakeholder groups and the wider community on issues from a proposed restructuring of the Trust to increase Mana Whenua Trust roles, the legal status of the fence, creating land/project access agreements, and even determining the future of the project, the family and/or its land trust decided to no longer permit volunteers and visitors to enter or traverse their land.

Shortly thereafter they signalled that they wanted a formal arrangement which legally indemnified them as landowners and protected various wāhi tapu there. Together, the stakeholder groups decided in this meeting not to pursue any possible legal means to regain project access there, or any mechanism to exert pressure on the family or its land trust. Rather, they decided to proceed patiently in a concerted effort with WDC to negotiate for legal access from the family's trust through formal agreements between them and MEIT. Mana Whenua in the project again took the stance that despite the difficulty being caused by the closed main entrance, the stakeholders needed to respect the family and its rights. They requested that the Trust should ensure it abided by the family's their wishes and keep visitors and volunteers, even well-trained and experienced ones, off that portion of project land. In fact, they had all learnt their lesson the hard way. When the access gate was first chained shut, it was cut and reopened by someone aligned with local Mana Whenua. This increased tensions and stymied dialogue between MEIT and the family's trust for a time. The gate, which technically is the property of MEIT, but not legally secured on the family's land, was again welded closed. This weld was cut, but soon thereafter welded again at the direction of local Mana Whenua in the project. It was around this time that the family trust also advised all the parties that respect for wāhi tapu there was also a concern to them.

Notices of wāhi tapu on the land, when combined with legal notices of MEIT being held liable, deepened the compunction MEIT felt to act appropriately. The sacred sites there could have been burials, sites at which important events occurred, or where people died, or where important artefacts are believed to be. Beliefs relative to these sites, and recognition of a need to protect and respect them, connect powerfully to notions of mana, mauri, tapu and kaitiakitanga. On the Western cultural side of this coin, it carries notions of legal ownership and land rights as a system of social relations, and the opportunity to be held liable infractions and for accidents and injuries there. Absent any formal agreement, the family had the right to change or mature their views regarding the use of their land and communicated that they desired due consideration for their rights and the wāhi tapu located there. Thus, the land was to no longer be used until a suitable agreement was created. Permission to use the land was revoked and any use there outside of their discretion, was considered illegal trespassing. The imposing project fence and associated project features there, including tracks, signs, seats, and a bridge, had all been constructed on their land. MEIT stakeholders in this instance recognised the cultural needs and responsibilities they each held relative to this property involved in the project, and to one another. They lamented, however, the family's

change of position and decision to indefinitely block access despite the fact that an insurance policy was secured for them through an agreement with WDC.

The interaction of stakeholders displayed in the meeting was open and patient, allowing for the transmission and appreciation of sufficient nuance and meaning. Major issues were being discussed and considered, and carefully so. Decision-making in this meeting, as a result, was by and large inclusive. They listened and endeavoured to understand and navigate the varying sociocultural differences and viewpoints they each held concerning the disposition of this family's private property rights and access for the Southern Enclosure. They worked to honour Mana Whenua tikanga requirements and sensibilities and Mana Whenua's relationship with this Māori family. Mana Whenua stakeholders likewise understood and shared the views of the other stakeholders that it was best to safely, and legally, return tourists and volunteers to the project at that particular. They agreed with and supported legal and political processes to return this aspect of the project to normalcy.

Detailed Trust Meeting Examination

Though meeting surveys and overviews are helpful (and needful for space considerations), it is apropos to at least review one meeting in detail. The selected meeting, held 28 May 2012, epitomises the latent complexity and potential for dissonance in the project and Trust. Stakeholder representatives in the Trust claim differing ultimate/ancestral backgrounds and also represent a number of socioeconomic positions in society. They are boxed into stakeholder categories based on notions and assumptions pertaining to racial categories, or identity and heritage, or connectedness to land, land ownership, or public and official responsibilities to the maunga, and more. Together, they are expected to manage and steer an extremely complex project whilst respecting their constituents' sensibilities, needs and concerns. What follows then is a detailed examination of a single meeting that includes contextualising material, relates what transpired in their multi-stakeholder interactions, and incorporates an analysis of the concerns and issues discussed in relation to the sociocultural beliefs, values and practices of participating stakeholder representatives.

Trust Board Meeting 28 May 2012

This Trust meeting, held in the Te Manawa o Matariki Room of the Don Rowlands Centre in Karapiro, was attended by nearly a full complement of trustees and chaired by co-chair Tony Wilding. Mana Whenua were represented by trustees Karaitiana Tamatea, Robyn Nightengale, Katarina Hodge and Tao Tauroa. Adjoining landowners were represented by

Tony Wilding, Adele Saywell and Selwyn Mackinder, with their trustee Bruce Dean absent this meeting. Indirectly, the community was represented by additional trustees Gordon Stephenson, Gordon Blake, Lance Hodgson, and Robyn Klos, as well as Graham Scott, who attended a portion of the meeting, and Richard Johnstone was absent. Trustee Arthur Hinds was present representing the Waikato Conservation Board. Kevin Collins attended representing the interests of EW/WRC.

Wilding, acting as the meeting's chair, called the meeting to order. He had Tamatea provide a karakia to formally commence the meeting. This karakia was performed in Te Reo and no translation was asked for or provided. Following a few meeting procedures, Wilding introduced the first major topic for the night, the Trust's efforts to bring about a WDC purchase of a property just outside the Southern Enclosure with the intent to make it the project's visitor centre. He acknowledged that differing views on the tourism effort existed, but hoped they would all try to make it happen. WDC's mayor, Alan Livingston, who used to be on the Trust, informed him, he said, that MEIT was audacious to ask for the property as a gift. Blake recommended a thorough legal review of the arrangement to ensure accuracy and adherence to due process. Klos chimed in, advocating for a clear demarcation of parties and roles in the WDC–MEIT relationship it would create. Nightingale opined that obtaining the property for their intended purpose would add certainty to the MEIT project.

Stephenson raised the issue of a possible sale of a nearby Trust-owned property, used for the storage of work equipment. Blake cautioned the Trust that it would be unwise to sell the property (the home on this property was once intended to become a temporary visitor centre) until the purchase of the property adjacent to the Southern Enclosure was approved and successfully closed. Discussion then between Klos, Wilding and MEIT General Manager Malcolm Anderson centred around fiscal elements they and WDC were examining in the endeavour and the idea that a divestment of the owned property could offset some of the cost, making it more likely. Wilding related that while WDC would own the property adjacent the Southern Enclsoure, MEIT, in the relationship, would use/manage it as needed. Discussion then ensued over the process to, in collaboration with a certain design firm, design a straightforward site plan.

Klos reviewed plans for filling community trustee vacancies and, after Hodgson affirmed he would retain his seat, Wilding indicated that two vacancies would be nominated by sitting trustees whilst two should come from a process the community devised. In this, Tamatea advocated for consistency and for the Trust to compromise (stating that it had always done so) so that perhaps some adjoining landowners might unlock their gates and

permit access to the project through and/or on their land. Hodge asked how many landowner vacancies then existed. Wilding indicated three or four needed replacement and spoke to recent landowner meetings that by and large laid the groundwork for MEIT to gain formal access agreements and deeds of covenant for the fence. Klos, Wilding, Nightingale and Tamatea then discussed efforts to secure official project patronage from Prince Charles, due to his reported interests in environmental conservation, and the Māori King, as Maungatautari is connected to his Tainui Tribe and the Kingitanga. Blake cautioned everyone that because they did not fully understand the Kingitanga and its links to Maungatautari, they should proceed cautiously and only further contact Prince Charles on the matter after the King's office weighed in. Nightingale and Wilding agreed with this assessment and plan. In a discussion concerning the imminent NKK Treaty claim settlement, and an impending meeting between OTS Minister Finlayson with MLC members, Blake, Collins, and Nightingale agreed that EW/WRC should advise the government that the minister should be unequivocal vis-à-vis the settlement, and assure adjoining landowners that private land rights would not be infringed upon.

Anderson provided updates on kiwi coming from Waimarino to Maungatautari and a few recent funding successes. He stated that he and Wilding had recently met with some owners of the 4GIV land block to further develop relations. After Malcolm announced that members from the Piako/Matamata Council were to visit the maunga, and MEIT would seek some funding from them, Collins related that though EW/WRC liked MEIT's funding presentation made that day, they voted to discontinue funding in the manner it had in the past, and yet would provide a some funds, though on a diminishing sliding scale over time. Their primary concern, he stated, related to the tenuousness of the project vis-à-vis MLC demands and actions, and the want of access agreements. Concerning the Piako/Matamata District Council visit, Blake reminded everyone to highlight the fact that half of Maungatautari used to be within that district, and that its council were instrumental, via Peter Judd, in establishing the first stock fence around Maungatautari. Anderson continued with his GM report and updated everyone on preparations being made to host Sirocco, DOC's kākāpō spokesbird, on Maungatautari.

Klos asked for an update on a Mr. Spencer, a possible mediator to act as intermediary between MLC and MEIT. Anderson answered that a request to central government to secure his services had been lodged. (During this exchange I noted that Tauroa and Mackinder, who were sitting side by side, had a congenial side conversation, and exhibited friendly, receptive body language.) Tauroa then spoke up and iterated that he and others with local hapū needed

to be informed of when biodiversity transfers were to occur, even when fauna was leaving Maungatautari, citing a recent takahē export that occurred without their knowledge. Relative to tikanga and arrangements, he explained, Mana Whenua needed to have formally acknowledged/engaged Ngāi Tahu, as they were receiving the bird. Hinds allowed that DOC needed to refine its processes regarding such matters. Discussion turned to a possible kōkako reintroduction and the high cost associated with it, due in part to their sourcing from Little Barrier Island. Tauroa then reminded everyone that they could get these birds easily from the Pureora Forest nearby. (Recall that Mana Whenua had established, through tono, a relationship with Pureora hapū to obtain robins, and in this, formulated the relationship to acquire kōkako as well.) Hodge requested Tauroa's request for Mana Whenua inclusion in faunal import/export procedures be noted in the minutes. Anderson, on behalf of the project's management, apologised that Mana Whenua had not been contacted ahead of the export and proceeded to review export procedures to amend them. Wilding, Blake, and Stephenson deliberated on the matter and decided to hold biodiversity subcommittee meetings in the afternoons so that Nightingale could always attend to facilitate MEIT–Mana Whenua communication on such matters.

Scott presented the Trust's financial report. In this, the matter of supposed Trust assets not being listed was raised, such as walking tracks. Stephenson related that putting a figure on tracks placed on private land without permission would be more difficult to figure. Blake, Wilding, Stephenson and Klos debated the issue and decided that it was better that the Trust be seen to be working on legalising these features and that it was a matter not for the general manager, but a co-chair, to handle. Tauroa chimed in and stated that Māori landowners were aware of the developed tracks on their land and that MEIT should go ahead and determine the value of these tracks as well as those on Crown land. Further, he added, MEIT should inform the king that the Tainui Tribe had provided $50,000 toward the project, and thus he would likely back the project in the future. Blake and Wilding conveyed a concern to maintain continuity in MEIT as a large non-iwi trustee turnover was imminent. Nightingale, Hodge and Klos discussed an effort to better outline the executive committee's relationship to the Trust and its sub-committees. After this, Wilding summed the executive and co-chair reports.

Tamatea took some time to educate trustees on the significance of the place where they were meeting. He related that NKK's Taumatawiwi Trust was named after this place. Before this riverside area came to be called Karapiro following a significant battle, it was known, he said, as Taumatawiwi. Trustees then discussed and planned a Trust meeting they

were to convene on the south side of Maungatautari in Pukeatua. Wilding informed everyone that pursuant to Bill Garland's review of a draft deed of covenant for landowners, he, Doug Arcus and Amanda Vosper were working on making some minor, needed changes. Wilding announced that adjoining landowners, excepting Garland and MLC members, had signed access agreements with the Trust. The main issue regarding deeds of covenant, Wilding related, was that some saw it as an enhancement to their property title, whilst others, viewed it negatively. To this, Mackinder said it was ironic, as he recalled at the project's commencement that every landowner was eager to have the fence erected on their property.

Klos, Hodge, Nightingale, and Hodgson then debated about an anonymous trustee survey that was soon to be conducted, intended to provide feedback on executive committee and co-chair performance, to help bring about positive changes in the Trust. Hodge and Nightingale asked how this survey and its data would concretely be used. Klos explained that it would help identify issues in the Trust's operations, and given confidentiality concerns being inferred, she and Wilding asked if they would like response data to bypass Trust staff and go straight to the co-chairs. This was agreed upon. Following a brief exchange concerning the next meeting's venue, Wilding adjourned the meeting and asked Tamatea to provide the karakia, which was performed in Teo Reo.

Section Discussion

The foregoing was typical of Trust meetings following the adoption of the co-chairperson structure. The Trust and community at the time had spent the last twelve months and more trying to handle several serious issues, and the setbacks they caused. Again, these issues centred around objection by some of NKK's Treaty claim which came to include Maungatautari, proposed restructures to the Trust (generally, a return to the original deed structure, or the creation of a separate stakeholder-representing strategic group known as the guardians, which was to oversee a management Trust), disagreement over considering volunteers a formal stakeholder group worthy of trustee representation, uncertainty and dissonance relative to the legally-unsecured ownership of the project fence and the land it sits on, landowner rights and more. However, though mediation meetings between MEIT and MLC had not achieved abounding success, many of the above issues were settled and/or being handled. The Trust had seemingly come through a difficult stage and was at last looking forward.

In terms of the tenor of their exchange I noted that interaction was respectful, cordial, and professional. The general view of the project was overwhelmingly positive. A number of things made it so. For one, efforts to secure a new and modern property quite suited to being an office building and a visitor's centre, located right outside the Southern Enclosure, were gaining traction. Tentative plans were even being laid to move the Trust's headquarters there. The Southern Enclosure's main entrance, for a time closed due to landowner concerns, was again open. Visitors and school groups were again able to experience the enclosure and project in its best light. A number of funding sources, which had reduced funds or for a time stopped giving, had largely come back to the project in full faith. For Mana Whenua, they had a co-chair and remained optimistic that their Treaty claim settlement, delayed for nearly a year at the time, would be honoured in full. Adjoining landowners had, in the main, received and ratified access agreements, and individualised deeds of covenant were close to completion. These developments likely did affect stakeholder interaction in Trust meetings of the time. Most directly, exchanges between stakeholders were less "us" and "them", and were more attuned to common project needs. The focus was on collaboration to get the project past certain troubles and move it forward. Though a few MLC members continued to deny access over their lands, to the fence, and into the project, MEIT was experiencing new found certainty and success. Stakeholders in the Trust were largely content and it showed.

A number of aspects of this meeting show the nature of their partnership at the time. Though for most of its life MEIT had convened meetings at the WDC offices in Cambridge or at the town hall, or occasionally at the Taylor St. Community Centre, the Trust had for months been meeting in Karapiro, in the Matariki Room of the Rowlands Centre. The room, I was informed, was NKK's room to use at their discretion. It was decorated with motifs and writings associated with Māori culture. More than once Karaitiana spoke to trust members on the significance of the site and room, and the large boulders outside (boulders relocated there from the adjacent Waikato River, which were the platform used to burn the bodies of fallen NKK warriors and allies). It was for Mana Whenua, a congenial location that invigorated them while at the same time, seemingly set them at ease.

In the meeting itself, ample latitude was given for individuals to express concerns and practice aspects of their culture. Mana Whenua, whose Waikato River Board employed co-chairs, were comfortable and pleased with the implementation of co-chairs in MEIT. Wilding, as meeting chair, invited Tamatea to provide a karakia, which was performed in Te Reo. A translation was not provided though, which could have brought about more mutual understanding. In a discussion on developing tourism, Wilding acknowledged that opposing

or differing views likely existed on the matter, but did not press the issue further. He allowed time for individuals and parties to consider the matter, knowing Mana Whenua's co-chair would bring any issues they had to the executive committee's attention. He also invited everyone to collaboratively provide input on the site plan.

Relative to the Trust's relationship with stakeholder groups, Tamatea pushed to have the Trust allow the community to democratically develop their own process to name a few trustees to the board. He advocated for consistency and compromise, specifically bearing in mind that it might please adjoining landowners that, upset with the Trust and NKK, had locked their gates and had been denying access to the fence. In the effort to have Prince Charles and King Tuheitia become official project patrons, Blake reminded all else in the Trust that they were not quite familiar enough with tikanga, especially as it concerned King Tuheitia. Consequently, though the King was busy, and any response would be delayed, the Trust decided to reach out to Prince Charles only after receiving a response and guidance from Tuheitia. To Tauroa's complaint that Mana Whenua were not consulted on a takahē export, relative to cultural needs and responsibilities they shouldered, other stakeholders listened and management responded with an apology and an immediate discussion to formulate new processes to avoid the oversight in the future. Further, adjoining landowner and co-opted trustees quickly reacted to enable Nightingale to attend key sub-committee meetings to meet Mana Whenua needs.

In regard to walking tracks built on Maungatautari, it seems Mana Whenua representatives projected an acceptance of it and signalled that they were willing to even look past unsanctioned development of it in certain areas to help the Trust become more financially secure. Tauroa directed other trustees to proceed with calculating the worth of all tracks in the project, no matter their location or provenance, and suggested a tactic to help solidify support from King Tuheitia. Almost at random, Tamatea educated individuals in the Trust of the significance of their meeting's location for Mana Whenua, relating some whakapapa that connected to it. Fellow trustees listened respectfully and the meeting chair did not attempt to intervene or redirect the conversation back to any particular topic. On the subject of being open and trusting, some Mana Whenua trustees, though not fully in favour of a planned trustee survey, listened to and trusted their meeting counterparts and accepted a proposed solution to one of their objections, enabling the survey to take place. Lastly, the meeting chair asked for a karakia, which was again provided in Te Reo.

In sum, stakeholders in this meeting achieved a number of things that are associated with creating a partnership and one which could be considered bicultural. They collaborated to benefit not only their group, but other stakeholders and the project. Individuals were permitted to practise their culture and share important cultural needs, values, beliefs and expressions. Comfortable and effective communication was taking place, whilst jointly identified project goals were being collaboratively pursued. Based on these aspects, it seems this was a meeting wherein both parties were acting in a manner that could be considered bicultural, though again, Mana Whenua were, by nature of the uneven sociocultural milieu, more thoroughly operating in a bicultural fashion.

Chapter Discussion and Summary

In problematising this research, I choose to evaluate MEIT's multi-stakeholder interaction against the ideology, rhetoric, and/or socio-political approach of biculturalism for two reasons: one) because of proclamations that the country is bicultural despite the dominant monoculturalism most of its citizens have experienced; and two) because people in the project, and promotions of it, had conveyed that its two core stakeholder groups, representing the country's two primary and founding peoples, were equally enjoined in the Trust and project. Moreover, as I explained in chapter one, I posited that some sociocultural dissimilarity, and the associated challenge of inter-cultural communication and collaboration between them, held the potential to affect the project. Thus, I became interested in ascertaining the ways their sociocultural differences were affecting the project and determining whether project stakeholders had achieved, or largely experienced, a healthy, collaborative multi-stakeholder partnership that can be considered bicultural.

Again, with the existence of various versions or forms of biculturalism, but with a certain degree of overlap in relation to it, and/or what most could agree that it looks like, one could measure the Trust's performance accordingly. It could be measured on whether and to what degree both sides of participants feel comfortable in their interactions, regardless of the terms of the engagement or interaction sphere. Connected to it, the Trust's performance could also be measured in relation to outward practices and expressions. It could also entail the active construction of a mutually-beneficial relationship. For example, in an organisation where stakeholder group 'A' derives from a socially marginalised and/or minority group within the larger society, and the larger and more dominant sociocultural group is "B", this would rightly entail members of group 'B' actively learning the sociocultural aspects of group 'A' such that they become more at ease interacting with members of group 'A', and

given that members of ‘A’ already are conversant in the sociocultural aspects of ‘B’, both would feel more comfortable in that interaction and realise that effective communication is taking place. In essence, group ‘B’ would make room to include the practices, concepts, values, and beliefs considered vital or important to group ‘A’. In this form of biculturalism, it is an environment wherein both parties are able to operate to a respectable degree in the sociocultural sphere of the other, mutual trust is earned and maintained, and the parties pursue jointly identified goals in any joint endeavour they pursue.

In regards to the Trust meetings which occurred before my time in New Zealand, analysis reveals a number of conclusions or findings. Data and analysis does suggest that during this time period, in relation to one of more forms of biculturalism as indicated immediately above, MEIT’s stakeholders did, in some meetings, produce a bicultural partnership, whilst at others time, multi-stakeholder interaction and work in the Trust falls short of this. Eight of the meetings surveyed could be considered to exhibit a more or less healthy partnership that is indicative of a bicultural partnership, even though at times some interaction was disconcerting. In these meetings non-iwi stakeholders made room for the cultural notions and needs of Mana Whenua in the project and vice versa. Enough mutual trust existed such that all participants more often than not felt comfortable enough to further explain cultural notions, needs, values, and practices, as well as express the unique and often personal ways they connect to Maungatautari and deeply held concerns whilst working toward project goals they mutually identified.

The review of three meetings I attended paint a picture of a multi-stakeholder partnership that exhibited an eroded state of trust and a reluctance to provide opportunity for each group to include or recognise the cultural practices, concepts, values and beliefs they considered vital or important to their participation. In one of these meetings disinterest or disengagement is exhibited by both parties. In another, a number of mistakes (cultural faux paus really, committed toward Mana Whenua) and disregard for a number of Mana Whenua concerns raised at the meeting, constituted signs of a deteriorating partnership. In the remaining meeting of this grouping, stark dissonance had developed between stakeholder groups and was manifestly evident. Mana Whenua, apparently, felt they should have been included in a major Trust management decision, and because the decision’s ramifications were perceived as further isolating them from day-to-day management of the project, they further reduced participation for a time, and to a greater degree than ever before. Multi-stakeholder relations at this juncture were marked by mistrust, fear, uncertainty and taciturnity.

Further, a number of Trust meetings I attended were reviewed in greater detail and assessed based on my personal meeting notes and an evaluation of them (see Appendix I). Of the five meetings detailed and assessed, four can be considered as exhibiting multi-stakeholder interaction that evinces a version of biculturalism and one does not. In the four meetings, stakeholders did generally permit the expression of contrary or differing views, cultural needs and values, and made room for practises, concepts and beliefs the other group valued and expressed. In many cases, they jointly fostered open interaction, navigated differing positions of a sociocultural nature relative to land and resources, and productively partnered in making decisions for the project which also met their own group's cultural needs. Of those meetings reviewed, only in the case of the March 2010 meeting did the multi-stakeholder partnership exhibit a pattern of disregard for concepts and needs important and/or vital among the stakeholder groups and their representatives. Moreover, it exhibited the existence of a growing fracture in the Trust board, reflecting the development of factions in the project's wider community. The development of factions stemmed from disagreement on a proposed reorientation of stakeholder representation in the Trust and a proposed change of management rights over the project on the basis of racial identity and a stakeholder group's relationship to Maungatautari. Little consideration was shown by both major stakeholders in terms of engendering good inter-cultural communication and promoting mutual understanding. In sum, this particular meeting, like a few others I witnessed, constituted a partnership opportunity lost and was predominantly monocultural.

The two ethnographically-oriented meeting reviews offered another view into multi-stakeholder relations. In the Trust's 25 March 2010 meeting, stakeholders focused on restructuring the Trust and determining who or what constituted a stakeholder of the project and/or the maunga. In this exchange, the groups related the cultural and sociohistoric connections they felt they had to the maunga, and through it, the project. These expressions were heard by their counterparts, who conveyed their understanding of what was being said, and validated them. Most of the meeting transpired in this way. People listened. Often individuals restated what another said to make sure they understood correctly. Individuals did not talk over one another. Time was given for people to express their views and positions. Some Te Reo was used, though without any offer or request for translation. Overall, multi-stakeholder interaction in this meeting was cordial, open, and inclusive. If not clearly bicultural, multi-stakeholder interaction in this meeting was closer to it than far from it.

Multi-stakeholder interaction in the 21 September 2011 Trust meeting was by and large inclusive. Major issues relative to land and property rights were raised and discussed in an environment that encouraged and permitted the expression of nuance and careful decision-making. Participants exhibited a willingness to understand and navigate differing sociocultural viewpoints and needs, and in the decisions made, to honour those views and needs. It was evident that members of each group were endeavouring to ascertain and/or operate within, or at least in respect to, the sociocultural paradigm of the other. The meeting then easily qualifies as being bicultural in relation to any general version of the term.

The in-depth review of the May 2012 Trust board meeting occurred when the Trust was in a reconciliation or reconstruction period, following major upheaval and a protracted restructuring process. The meeting was largely uneventful and devoid of major controversy. Stakeholder representatives allowed each other room to express concerns and needs, and exhibited a mutual trust one toward another. Latitude was provided to permit trustees to express culturally important beliefs, history and needs within the Trust meeting. Project plans, issues and solutions were made in a collaborative way. At this time, in this meeting, the Trust was operating with a multi-stakeholder partnership that qualifies it as bicultural in most any sense of the term.

Navigating Cultural Difference in the Project

These meeting surveys and reviews also illustrate the central role culture and the nature of stakeholder interaction has played in the multi-stakeholder sphere and how the nature of these relations affects the project. A few examples make this point. Discussion and debate repeatedly occurred in the Trust concerning land and resource rights amid the needs or goals of the project. Mana Whenua conveyed that Maungatautari contained multiple wāhi tapu, or sacred sites, and consequently sought for consultation and care in regard to work being done on the maunga in those areas. Adjoining landowners who had and were relying on water sourced from mountain streams sought assurances of continued and reliable access rights to these resources, again illustrating that land ownership is in reality a social relationship that stipulates the ways all involved parties act with one another in relation to land. Concerns for the rights and needs of stakeholders regularly surfaced in meetings and in project processes and had to be weighed against project imperatives and goals. Easy solutions were not always forthcoming. Thus, the proper airing of cultural needs, be they tikanga or concessions and measures to enable farmers to properly conduct their farm businesses without untenable negative affects at the hands of the project, needs to occur, and earlier, in

project decision making processes to avoid dissonance, missteps, and costly or difficult remediation or course corrections later on.

Another example pertains to the human–wildlife relationship protocols/standards each group wanted in the project. Though most from the local hapū preferred minimal to no ongoing direct contact with reintroduced fauna, and most from non-iwi stakeholder groups preferred quick, simple reintroductions and regular monitoring and health checks for founding kiwi birds, agreement between the groups was forged. Mana Whenua, by way of this agreement, took on the role of obtaining bird specimens for reintroductions from other iwi/hapū around the country. In this, they considered the birds or animals that came to Maungatautari to be taonga and part of their kaitiaki responsibility. Likewise, I would venture, many, if not all, in the project, felt that the birds brought to Maungatautari were special and deserving of their care, and also felt this responsibility. Nonetheless, many more in non-iwi stakeholder groups, though wanting to defer to Mana Whenua wishes— especially when couched as being cultural— believed in the need for regular health checks, which certainly disturb and stress the birds. Mana Whenua recognised the wisdom of conducting regular health checks despite an inclination to leave the maunga and reintroduced fauna there alone. Additionally, those coming from a non-iwi background preferred simple and quick reintroductions to minimise the time the animals spent in transport carrier boxes and reduce their stress in relation to the entire reintroduction process. However, Mana Whenua usually sought for and had special reintroduction ceremonies that entailed additional ceremony, karakia and blessings at faunal reintroductions. These extended the amount of time (though not gratuitously) the birds were kept in their carriers. The Trust debated these topics repeatedly wherein each stakeholder group related their position and endeavoured to establish regular faunal reintroduction/care/post-mortem procedures that satisfied each group's needs and concerns. Consequently, introductions did include Māori cultural practices, but also were kept to a minimum so as to minimise the time birds spent in their carriers. In this, the parties demonstrated a willingness to allow the cultural needs or goals of the other to be addressed, but yet each moved to the centre— they remained flexible in exactly how their needs were met.

Another ready example is located in the ways the groups preferred to arrive at decisions in the Trust, especially, the more crucial decisions and those most directly affecting Maungatautari and endemic fauna (re)establishing there. Again, hapū members and their marae representatives on the Trust board preferred to take options and information back to their constituents where thorough debate could occur to produce a consensus or near-

consensus decision their marae representative could return to the Trust with. This evinced two things. One, Mana Whenua representatives on the board intended to bring decisions to the Trust that genuinely related constituent wishes and positions. Two, though they did not always expect to achieve consensus, they did pursue it. Given the time this effort nominally requires, this meant that the production of certain, more weighty decisions by the Trust board often required more time, and certainly such decisions could not always be made or completed at a single Trust meeting as sometimes desired by some in the meetings. Non-iwi, or Pākehā stakeholder group members (adjoining landowners, and in a way, the rest of the wider community who did not identify as Māori) generally preferred to empower their Trustees to make decisions for and in behalf of them at the board table, which for their part makes for quick decision-making.

Some in the Trust, with the aim to help speed up or streamline decision-making processes among Mana Whenua relative to these more weighty project decisions and receive advice on matters of tikanga, established the Tangata Whenua committee. In the review of meetings between 2001 and 2010 an instance is mentioned when Mana Whenua representatives signalled anew to more deeply and regularly participate in this committee. They recognised how it might help the Trust and project. However, time constraints associated with a host of other obligations, including marae meetings and affairs, Treaty settlement talks and meetings with the government's Office of Treaty Affairs, Trust sub-committee responsibilities, and the fact that they seemed more comfortable with their marae-centred decision-making processes, the committee did not endure as a Trust apparatus. Years later, subsequent to a Trust restructuring and simplification process, the Trust established a co-chairperson executive structure, with Mana Whenua empowered to always have the right to choose one of these chairpersons. Following this development the amount of finalised weighty decisions completed immediately at the Trust board table with the consent of Mana Whenua increased. Due to these changes in the Trust, and the fact that multi-stakeholder relations were now more settled and that Trust meetings were being held at the Matariki Room at the Don Rowlands Centre in Karapiro, Mana Whenua representatives in the Trust felt a measure of cultural safety in meetings, could plan ahead for more weighty decisions, and consequently were more empowered to make immediate decisions on behalf of their constituents.

These examples evince the power of culture to affect the project significantly, or to be more exact, the ability that differences in the sociocultural backgrounds and identity of those in the stakeholders groups, in relation to their beliefs, values, schemas, practices and needs/protocol. It has caused members of stakeholder groups to push for alterations in MEIT's structure and goals, change decision-making processes, modify project plans, and further engender identity/cultural politics between the stakeholder groups. These challenges produced other challenges for the stakeholders and the project's community. A number of funders, unsure of the Trust's status at one time, discontinued or delayed funds, or threatened a cessation of funding. Due to fiscal uncertainty and reduced funding, a number of species reintroductions were delayed or encumbered. A number of volunteers, though proportionately few, withdrew their contributions of time and money. The prospect of the Crown gifting Mana Whenua all the Crown reserve land on Maungatautari as part of its Treaty settlement with NKK did disappoint, and in some cases angered, some adjoining landowners and people in the wider community, further fuelled these tensions and politics at least for a time. However, when this is deconstructed, the issue derives from the differential experiences and worldviews between participants pertaining to their sociocultural identity and background. Some Pākehā participants, as will be shown in chapters seven and eight, have had more bi-cultural experience than others. They have learnt more of their counterpart's history and culture, and at times, participated and/or acted within a Māori cultural sphere to one degree or another. Consequently, they were more willing to accept NKK's Treaty settlement, including the gifting of all Crown land on the maunga, as due redress for wrongs committed against them in breach of the Treaty.

On the other side of the coin, instances of sociocultural-based disparity and dissonance between stakeholders afforded opportunities for increased familiarisation between them. In the early years of the Trust, Mana Whenua trustees more than once offered to host workshops designed to help other trustees become more familiar with Māori culture, tikanga and Te Reo after a number of instances where the stakeholders found they were misunderstanding one another or not firmly grasping certain concepts, and expressed a desire to learn more of the Mana Whenua's views and culture. At times karakia were given at the beginning of meetings. In response to concerns and questions some stakeholders raised about karakia, Mana Whenua did provide explanations relating the benefit of having karakia and translations of what was said.

In 2011, and especially in 2012, many Trust board and other ancillary meetings began to be held at Karapiro in NKK's Matariki Room of the Don Rowlands Centre to help meet Mana Whenua requests for cultural safety in meetings. There, on a few occasions, information was provided by Mana Whenua and Pākehā concerning the importance of the site for local hapū and how it for them conceptually and historically connected to Maungatautari through whakapapa. Within tono meetings and discussions, which Mana Whenua and iwi held for the purpose of acquiring birds and other species to come to Maungatautari, some non-iwi trustees and project volunteers took it upon themselves to both attend and participate in these meetings. On these occasions they experienced tono and marae proceedings and tikanga, which as a learning experience had the net result of increased familiarisation and comfort for all parties involved. At important species reintroductions held on Maungatautari Marae, non-iwi trustees, project staff and volunteers experienced formal marae proceedings and tikanga for Mana Whenua and visiting donor iwi groups. It also afforded them opportunities to meet, mingle and befriend hapū members they otherwise would not likely have had much chance to meet. All these changes and activities increased Pākehā familiarisation of some core aspects of Māori culture and tikanga, particularly with respect to land, fauna, and intra-Māori relationships. Thus, trustees, volunteers and staff who participated in such events and experiences were better prepared to partner in a manner that could produce a bicultural relationship among MEIT's stakeholder groups.

CHAPTER VI

EXERTIONS OF CULTURE
Inter-cultural Navigation in the Project

Whilst engaged in project tasks and operations as a volunteer, I and fellow participants and members of the community typically discussed the project and the Trust, and any developments, topics or issues appertaining to them which they mentioned. Frequently, these conversations touched on a cultural belief or concept that arose as a central or otherwise important element or issue. With some regularity, these discussions accessed notions of differences or perceived differences, related to the sociocultural identity, background, beliefs and rights of project participants and stakeholders, and how they were affecting the multi-stakeholder interaction sphere and thereby the project. To explore these notions and facets as part of ascertaining the role of culture in the project, this chapter examines and dissects a number of project events or developments. Each examination details how these situations were navigated by project stakeholders and participants, and identifies the cultural beliefs, values, and practices pertinent to the situation and explicates their impact upon the project.

Some of the situations or developments that are examined transpired before I commenced official fieldwork or prior to my relocation to New Zealand. To examine these events I rely on a number of source materials: Trust agendas, minutes, and public releases; periodicals; participant interview data; personal communications; field journal notes; and relevant books and government documents. Each section presents a situation, event or development in the MEIT project, evaluates it relative to a topic or theme, and includes a critical discussion and basic analysis.

Protecting the Mana of Maungatautari

To promote the project and gather financial and other forms of support, the early Trust issued a brochure entitled, “Protecting the Mana of the Mountain”. The title mixes English and the Māori term, ‘mana’, a notable pan-Polynesian term and concept. I initially postulated that the mixed language title was an instance of intended partnership between local Māori and Pākehā project stakeholders and a sign of biculturalism’s extent in the Trust and project. I soon discovered I was only somewhat right: in the end, the title that was used came about not because of inter-cultural partnership from the beginning of the process, but rather later, at the end, through belated partnership, and in part due to differing understandings of

what ‘mana’ means and the feelings of some that they had the right to police usage of the word.

On 9 February 2012, whilst in an interview, I asked Ally Tairi to corroborate something I recently learnt in another interview: a research participant indicated that some years prior they witnessed an exchange in a Trust management meeting wherein Ally (who is from NKK) demanded the Trust’s then current chairman (a non-Māori New Zealander/Pākehā) to cease using the term ‘mana’, informing him he misunderstood it and was misusing it. Ally confirmed the incident transpired. She explained that the chairman had been using the term liberally and incorrectly, and she had tired of it. She contextualised the chairman’s inaccurate use as part of a pattern, adding that generally she had noted a marked increase in everyone’s abuse of the term over the preceding ten to fifteen years. Before this, she said, she rarely heard the term, even among Māori.

To highlight her point Ally related events surrounding the promotional pamphlet’s production. Those tasked with its conceptual design in the Trust approached local Māori marae representatives in the Trust with a print-ready version titled, “Restoring the Mana of the Mountain”. Ally stated these marae representatives objected to the title, as they were not aware Maungatautari’s mana was gone or diminished. Thus, the use of the term ‘restoring’ along with ‘mana’, relative to Maungatautari, was situationally and culturally wrong and inappropriate. I asked Ally to elaborate on the situation to better understand the differing perceptions of project stakeholders relative to these concepts and specifically to ‘mana’ as it concerned the pamphlet title. In connection with Maungatautari’s cultural significance for local Māori, I wanted to better understand the difference between ‘restoring’ and ‘protecting’ (the term that in the end was used) relative to ‘mana’.

Continuing the conversation, I reminded her I had lived in Hawai`i previously, and with my status as an anthropology student long interested in Polynesia, I was aware of the ubiquity of ‘mana’ throughout Polynesia and that there were many nuances and glosses associated with its use. Its use has varied over time and place, with it even entering and becoming prosaic in the English language, with its own English meanings (Metge 2005:86-7; see Tomlinson and Tengan 2016). In this way, I alluded to her that though I was interested in her construal of it, others and I were aware that ‘mana’ is a highly variegated term and concept, and no longer the sole cultural “possession” of Polynesians, let alone Māori (Tomlinson and Tengan 2016:14-16). Indeed, ‘mana’ has a storied history connected to Christianisation in the Pacific, the practice of anthropology there, and social science that extends, overlays and alters/complicates the already complex understandings of ‘mana’ that

existed before Western contact and colonialism in the Pacific. For similar or related reasons, missionaries, anthropologists and sociologists sought to understand and use ‘mana’, generating varying definitions and uses for it in Western thought and social science, which in turn, to varying degrees, affected its modern use as it was appropriated and transformed (Tomlinson and Tengan 2016:2-8,14,16). Whether the ‘mana’ being considered is one associated with ancient Hawaiians, Fijians or Tangata Whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand, or as treated by nineteenth and twentieth century anthropologists such as Codrington, Müller, Lévi-Strauss, Firth, Keesing, or Valeri, or modern treatments of it in sovereignty or political movements, art or religious/new age contexts, or as intended by individuals and groups who now use it, it is important to remember that regardless of the diverse and/or nebulous views of it, understanding or discussing ‘mana’ does not require endorsement of any one of them; rather, it is more important to focus on the context immediately surrounding its use (Metge 2005:84) and acknowledge transformations of it and the chains of its transmission, which have both shaped and reshaped what it semantically represents and the values attached to it (Tomlinson and Tengan 2016:16). In other words, no single gloss can adequately convey all of what ‘mana’ does or can mean, nor can it be considered authoritative over any other gloss; context and provenance are key.

Consequently, I wanted to know what Ally thought about ‘mana’ and what it signified both generally and relative to the policing of it she demonstrated, and its use in the pamphlet title. When I asked what ‘mana’ meant to her, she explained that ‘mana’ refers to a collective esteem bestowed upon an individual by those that have respect for them and/or the role they occupy. The person said to have mana, she related, did not obtain it by taking it from someone or something, and typically did not assert they possessed mana.

Robyn Nightingale, a MEIT trustee from Ngati Raukawa representing Parawera Marae, had this to say of ‘mana’ after we broached the subject in an interview and I asked whether ‘mana’ only applied to people:

> **Robyn:** …I would never…recognise mana in a stone, but I may recognise the mana of a place and of a building…because of [being] named after [an] ancestor. I may recognise that there is mana…at a place because of a certain event that happened there.
> **Author:** Well, take for example [Maungatautari] itself. [I then raised the issue of the ‘Mana’pamphlet, the change of wording and hesitancy by some to use the word ‘mana’ at all.]
> **Robyn:** …yeah because to protect the mana of the mountain— the mountain’s name is Maungatautari…, [an] ancestor’s name is Maungatautari, but also the mana [that] had been bestowed on [Maungatautari] came from the great chief who saw it…and…gave

the mountain that name. …it attaches to the name and to the place.
Author: …[the chief] is…the basis for the mana then ascribed to the mountain?
Robyn: [She nods.] And for those who live and who may, whose remains still rest there. So it's still people, …it's through people that there is a mana attached. …with our Greenstone mere pounamu, they have mana too and some of the more precious ones have names. [recorded interview, 24 Feb. 2012, Parawera]

Tao Tauroa, of NKK and a longstanding Pohara Marae MEIT trustee, in discussing 'mana' relative to Maungatautari, first pointed out a contrast between Māori and Pākehā views of Maungatautari. Concerning some Pākehā (though not all, he conceded), who have lived close to Maungatautari all their lives, he said, "they just see it as a mountain…, or what was…Gareth Morgan's words, 'it's just another hill', you know?", referring to economist Gareth Morgan's apparent echoing of the Saving Maungatautari website's[1] tagline, which suggested what Maungatautari would be without the pest-proof fence (see Morton 2011; recorded interview, 25 Jul. 2012, Pukeatua). After we discussed the notion of wairua and the concept of tapu, we quickly reached the related subject of mana and the pamphlet title situation. Tao explained "Protecting" replaced "Restoring" in the title at Mana Whenua's request "[be]cause to us the mana was never, ever destroyed, it was always there. …the maunga still had mana for us. …we still refer to it, …in our korero…, 'our lofty mountain', 'our Maungatautari' ", which has "given its life to the sustenance of the people" (recorded interview, 25 Jul. 2012, Pukeatua). (See Appendix A for more of this interview.)

Distilling Maungatautari's 'Mana'

The representative concepts and views above echo what others in the local Māori community expressed concerning 'mana' and how it relates to Maungatautari. The mountain was named by an esteemed ancestor, according it some mana. This ancestor's progeny and the ancestors of the present local hapū members lived on and around Maungatautari and subsisted on its resources. It has served, and continues to serve, as a symbol and anchor of their rohe and holds many of their buried kin in its slopes. Thus, much of its mana stems from

[1] In 2010 and especially in 2011, a number of adjoining landowner farmers formed the Maungatautari Landowners Council as a way to voice their concerns over a proposed restructuring of MEIT that at one time envisioned a stakeholder representative body separate from a MEIT tasked with running the project, and a co-chairperson arrangement, with one being selected by Mana Whenua. To them, the move was an altering of the original Trust deed and organisation, and was enabling Mana Whenua to take over or wield too much control over the project. Well-known, but outspoken New Zealand economist and philanthropist Gareth Morgan took up their plight, holding public meetings and providing interviews with the media on the issue. He helped establish the website, www.savemaungatautari.org, which promoted their group's concerns and permitted debate on the issues in a forum. The site's tagline, many felt, echoed something he may have said in a public meeting: Maungatautari, without the pest-proof fence, is just another hill.

its role as provider and protector. Further, for Mana Whenua, Maungatautari's mana derives from the esteem they have for it as 'their' place, the most prominent feature of their rohe. Thus, for Mana Whenua, the mana associated with, and accorded to, Maungatautari, derives from shared narrative and lived experience.

The concept of 'mana' appertaining to Maungatautari connects to the pamphlet title situation in a number of ways. First, Maungatautari has not been subjected to a disassociating, impinging name change (e.g. 'Mt. Cook' supplanting 'Aoraki' in the case of New Zealand's tallest peak), nor borne the brunt of any public maligning (at least up to the time the brochure's title was being debated[2]). Second, Mana Whenua have retained in memory their ancestor's name and deeds, and its slopes continue to be used as a site for burials of deceased loved ones and new-born baby umbilical cords[3]. Third, Mana Whenua tell and retell Maungatautari's long history of having sustained their hapū in times past and more recently. For these reasons Mana Whenua felt no mana had been lost, meaning no mana was in need of any restorative effort. For this reason the proposed phrase for the pamphlet, incorporating the term 'restoring', relative to Maungatautari's mana was wholly inappropriate, if not insulting and paternalistic. After all, who but local hapū members had the right to declare whether their ancestral maunga, the seat of their rohe, the place that had sustained their families, and which holds their deceased, had lost any mana? Thus, the pamphlet's title required a replacement for 'restoring', or a complete revision, omitting the term 'mana' altogether.

'Protecting' emerged as a fitting alternative, as the project, viewed by local hapū, was protecting Maungatautari's legacy by permanently preventing some misuse (e.g. clandestine timber removal, cattle roaming/grazing/sheltering, off-road biking etc.), along with

[2] With the project established and receiving significant, regular funding from WDC, DOC and EW/WRC, debate and factions developed in the community in 2011 over a proposed Trust restructure amidst an impending NKK Treaty settlement. Criticism was levelled against the project, its aims, MEIT, and Mana Whenua. Criticisms included the amount of ratepayer monies MEIT was receiving amidst other regional needs, MEIT's apparent failure to produce its own reliable revenue stream via tourism, and project stakeholder inability to quickly mend relations and restructure the Trust. Some however, in presenting criticism, made comments which disparaged the mountain or were dismissive of its importance (see Morton 2011). This, and similar attacks, offended Mana Whenua and actually constituted an attack on Maungatautari's mana, and hence on their ancestors and themselves.

[3] To connect a baby to their rohe, the land to which they and their ancestors belong, Mana Whenua who continue to abide by spiritual/religious beliefs and traditions, bury the baby's umbilical cord, and sometimes the placenta as well, in the earth. Māori beliefs assert that the earth is the goddess Papatūānuku, wife of Rangi-nui, and that all living things come from them. Just as an umbilical cord brings life to a foetus and connects it to its mother, the interment of the cord in the earth maintains the connection of the child to the tribe and the land to which they belong, but also maintains the link between earth mother and the child. Of note, when my wife gave birth in New Zealand to our third son and sixth child, we were asked by our midwife whether she should collect the cord and placenta for this purpose.

endeavouring to recreate its previous, fecund, ecological state. Ally explained further that 'protecting' was a more apt word choice, but not necessarily because of ecological conditions. For local hapū, she said, the mountain's mana primarily needed protection from people who could tarnish its reputation through bad press, negative events, and intrigue (recorded interview, 9 Feb. 2012, Cambridge). This conveyed to me that in her mind the mountain's reputation, and hence mana, was now tied to the Trust project, press coverage relating to it, and public perceptions of MEIT's multi-stakeholder partnership. This constitutes an entirely new and modern modality by which Maungatautari's mana can be affected, and by association, the mana of local hapū.

There was a wide array of views expressed of 'mana' by Pākehā research participants, some of which were quite nuanced (see Appendix B for a representative sampling of direct data). Some were not dissimilar to views expressed by local hapū members I interviewed. For some 'mana' is a personal integrity. Others flip it on its head: mana is a self-derived sense of worth unrelated to what esteem others may or may not have toward them, or even a pride when taken to the extreme. Amidst these views of 'mana', there is sufficient latitude to allow for its use in relation to Maungatautari. Evidently, the primary conceptual and semantic difference that elicited objections to the phrase 'restoring the mana of the mountain' is not to be located in the use of 'mana' relative to a mountain. After all, both local hapū and Pākehā permitted its association with Maungatautari, a non-person, environmental feature. This suggests the disconnect lies in the conceptual linking of 'mana' to ecological restorative action or the term 'restore' itself. 'Restore' itself became conceptually linked with the mountain as it was the place to be ecologically restored. Thus, the matter becomes a question of how 'mana' became conceptually linked with both 'restoring' and the mountain in the minds of some project proponents and how such a linkage is culturally wrong to Mana Whenua. Equally important is the goal to understand how the pamphlet title situation was handled such that inter-cultural understanding was generated between stakeholders and the title subsequently changed. A few exchanges shed light on these matters.

David Wallace, in relating that individual reaction to the idea of the project went one way or the other, stated: "it took a lot of explaining the dream of *restoring* the dawn chorus to some people, but to others it didn't take much at all…" (emphasis mine) (recorded interview, 18 Aug. 2011, Karapiro). In comparing the education and promotional efforts he, Juliette, and others made at Warrenheip and later on Maungatautari, David explained that large crowds of school children came to their gully enclosure because of "[t]he value of a *restored* forest in terms of education for kids" (emphasis mine) (recorded interview, 18 Aug. 2011, Karapiro).

A number of other facts and events came together which, for the Wallaces, reinforced the idea that 'restoration', as achieved at Warrenheip, could be scaled up and achieved at Maungatautari. The central factor in this was the success[4] Warrenheip experienced, which became a cognitive analogue for Maungatautari: David and Juliette felt that just as their gully was restored so also could the maunga of David's youthful summers be restored.

Juliette, noting the enormous contribution of the community and volunteers in the project, explained "they gave it for the mountain and for the *restoration* of the mountain" (emphasis mine) (recorded interview, 13 Sep. 2011, Karapiro). The concept of restoring the mountain was the idea the project was sold on, the one that caught people's imaginations. It was a conceptual vision that came to be held among others in the early Trust. It is reflected in the jointly-crafted vision statement intended to guide the Trust's project: "To remove, forever, introduced mammalian pests from Maungatautari, and *restore* to its forest a healthy diversity of indigenous plants and animals not seen in our lifetime" (emphasis mine) (Protecting the Mana of the Mountain pamphlet: n.d.). The goal or vision was to restore the mountain's more recently lost endemic species. The significance, the weight given to the term 'restore' by the Wallaces and others at the project's inception, as the primary action word encapsulating what they were going to do, derived its potency from Maungatautari's current ecological state. Perceptions of Maungatautari, fixated on its deteriorated understory growth, lack of native birds and invertebrate life, reduced value, and reduced prestige, gave rise to the idea that it could be returned to a previous state. Thus, for those subscribing to these interconnected views, who come from a non-Māori background, Maungatautari required no less than an ecological restoration, wherein correcting ecological imbalances and returning once present species was linked with enhancing its condition, its prestige, and the esteem people would have for it because of its restored state. In this way, idiomatic or loose interpretations of 'mana' became conceptually linked with 'restoring' Maungatautari, and produced the "Restoring the Mana of the Mountain" title. It was an easy mistake for those

[4] The Warrenheip gully restoration achieved success by a number of measures. Its short pest-excluding fence, fitted with a continuous net boom at the top had proved itself. Pest trapping and poison bait removed and killed pests and predators as attested by tracking cards free of any pest sign over durations of time. For a long time, no pest incursions were experienced. Native trees and shrubs introduced into the gully thrived, free from the ravages of browsing possums or seed- and seedling-eating rats. After the Department of Conservation heard of its successes, they took a close look at it and became convinced of its efficacy and safety for threatened species. Consequently, they began using the Warrenheip enclosure as a nursery for kiwi birds hatched at Rainbow Springs, Rotorua (Rolley 2006:4-5). These Warrenheip kiwi birds gained weight at a quicker rate (it was believed kiwi birds could capably fend off stoats once at a 1.2k weight) than counterparts introduced into non-pest fenced, pest-managed natural park sites.

who were at the time not deeply familiar with Māori terms and concepts and how mana, according to Mana Whenua, is truly attached to people and things such as Maungatautari.

The final pamphlet title came about through the influence of local hapū connected to the Trust. Recall Juliette and David Wallace indicated Ally Tairi informed the Trust that the title, as proposed, was culturally incorrect and unacceptable. Peter Tairi, a relation of Ally, onetime chairman of the Maungatautari Marae Committee, and an MEIT trustee in the early years of the project, also played a role in educating the Trust on the matter. Trust minutes of 19 November 2003 indicate Peter was resigning from the Trust that night despite the efforts of some to convince him otherwise. After statements made by eight individuals who lauded him and his quiet enthusiasm for the mountain and the project, David Wallace is paraphrased as having said that

> Peter…ensured the understanding of the two cultures and their different viewpoint about protecting the mana of the mountain. …the Trust were looking for a saying initially and came up with "restoring the mana". Peter and others taught the group that the mana had never been lost, it will always be there. David said he guessed the Trust was about adding layers of protection to the mountain. [Trust minutes, 19 Nov. 2003, p. 13, Cambridge]

Peter Tairi declined to participate in this research citing past misuse of his quotes by the media, though we had an amiable conversation over the phone. Yet from these meeting minutes and the information included above, and conversations with Ally Tairi and Peter Nordstrom, a mutual friend, it is clear Peter Tairi and Ally were instrumental in educating members of the sitting Trust, particularly those connected to the brochure's completion. It was these two individuals who at the least communicated to the others what local Māori believed concerning Maungatautari and its mana. They communicated to them its mana was not diminished in any way, regardless of Maungatautari's ecological condition. Rather, its mana stems from its role as provider to local hapū, both in times past and present. It comes from its role as the resting place of ancestors and whānau. It comes from its name, the fact its name is shared with an esteemed ancestor, and that it was named by another esteemed ancestor. To the credit of those stakeholder representatives present in the early days of the Trust, they listened and heard each other's concerns and needs. They discussed the differing cultural concepts of a key stakeholder group and gleaned, if not a full understanding of 'mana' and what Maungatautari means to local hapū, then at least an appreciation sufficient to permit flexibility in a Trust decision that came to have wide public exposure in the form of the pamphlet. It showed local hapū, as a stakeholder group, that the partnership and their

input were, in this instance, valued. In this way, MEIT stakeholders partnered together, learnt to be more culturally aware of the other, and changed a key catchphrase and the title of a pamphlet that was central to a MEIT grass-roots support-building campaign: in respecting Māori cultural beliefs and taonga (birds and plants there), the project, if anything, would be about "Protecting the Mana of the Mountain".

Constructing the Sub-enclosures: Cultural Protocol and Project Visions

Before construction on the project's first sub-enclosure was completed, the construction of a second sub-enclosure began in earnest and actually came close to being completed first. Construction of the first or Northern Enclosure, located past Karapiro and up the hillside from Maungatautari Marae on the mountain's northern face, commenced in November 2003 and finished in April 2004. Construction of the second or Southern Enclosure near Pukeatua, a much larger and more accessible sub-enclosure intended to support the bulk of visitor/tourism activities, began mid-February 2004 and was completed in August 2004 after just six months (see Appendix C for a full timeline). In and of itself, the timing of the completion of one enclosure versus the other would not appear to be an issue. However, in preparations for semi-structured interviews, I read Carly Rolley's 2006 unpublished research/booklet *Maungatautari Ecological Preservation: Impact on Adjacent Landowners* and discovered something of note. In interviews with key project individuals and various landowners several comments pointed to an instance of cultural dissonance between stakeholder groups relative to the completion of enclosures (Rolley n.d.:12). Local hapū at the time objected to the fact the Southern Enclosure was on schedule to be completed before the Northern Enclosure. They voiced their concerns to the Trust and indicated they wanted the northern one completed first. I soon came to understand that the request they made and the decision the Trust had to make, whether to change construction plans or not, was either a situation of cultural politics, where culture was being used as a means to an end, vis-à-vis disparate stakeholder aspirations for Maungatautari project tourism and hosting, or that culture, in the form of local hapū cultural protocol and sensibilities (amidst concerns for tourism and iwi autonomy), was genuinely at the heart of what was a sociocultural impasse that tested the Trust's commitment to bicultural multi-stakeholder collaboration.

In the early conceptual and planning phase of the project it was decided that though the overall project goal was to fence the entire mountain, clear it of invasive pests, and reintroduce endemic biota, there were a number of other considerations to take into account. Tourism was identified as an essential element in achieving long-term financial success in the

project. However, it was soon realised that it would be ecologically prudent to confine tourist activity on Maungatautari to limited areas to protect recovering flora and fauna over the vast majority of the mountain. Further, it became evident that in order to obtain the support and funding needed to start and complete fencing construction around the entire mountain, and thereby gain momentum, there needed to be an initial, scaled-down proof-of-concept demonstration (Special Communications Committee minutes, 18 Feb. 2003, Cambridge). For these reasons, it was decided that one or more sub-enclosures would be built, cleared of pests, trialled with species targeted for reintroduction and subsequently utilised as the tourism and visitor activity sites. A number of discussions on this subject occurred in meetings held between 2001 and 2003. Over this period local hapū held marae meetings to identify hapū members with rights to land on Maungatautari that would be affected by the project, discuss project developments, and provide decisions for representatives to present to MEIT (cf. Trust agendas of the time period: 19 Apr. 2001; 19 Jun. 2002; 21 Aug. 2002; 21 May 2003; and Trust Minutes: 27 Feb 2001; 19 Aug. 2001; 29 Jan. 2002; 17 Apr. 2002; and Communications Committee Minutes 05 Mar. 2003; as well as Science and Research Committee Minutes 28 May 2003, among others).

The last two documents cited above indicate the result of these consultations and meetings: first, local iwi had apparently expressed no qualms about the project or the construction of a sub-enclosure and recognised they needed to clarify outstanding internal land access and ownership ambiguities; second, iwi wanted two sub-enclosures, one of which would be for them, though they harboured concerns over which should be built first. In early May of 2003 uncertainty stemming from ownership ambiguities with Māori block land was making it difficult for MEIT to get final approvals for a proposed site, and hence make progress toward starting a northern sub-enclosure. Consequently, the Xcluder pest proof fencing company shifted the northern sub-enclosure to an alternate site not primarily situated on Māori block land (Communications Committee Minutes, 06 May 2003, Cambridge). The minutes of this meeting also indicate where project fencing was intended to commence regardless of whether there was to be one or two sub-enclosures: "[t]he formal start of the project *on the northern side*, however, should also involve a formal entranceway to the mountain. If this entranceway requires design and possibly [a Māori] carving it should be discussed at the earliest possible convenience to ensure sufficient lead-in time." (Communications Committee Minutes, 06 May 2003, Cambridge, emphasis mine). The acknowledgment of the project start on the northern side, and of Māori cultural needs aligns well with a request Peter Tairi made of the Trust a few months prior: "Tangata Whenua must

be acknowledged for who they were in relation to the maunga in every aspect of the Strategic Objectives and Critical Success Factors document and in terms reflecting the Treaty of Waitangi" [Trust minutes, 27 Feb. 2002, p. 2, Cambridge]. Thus, it appears that at the outset of sub-enclosure planning Pākehā and Māori stakeholders were working together and recognising the special cultural needs of local hapū in the matter.

Saliently, sources indicate that local hapū intended more for this Northern Enclosure in line with their own aspirations for Mana Whenua and Maungatautari in conjunction with the eco-island project. In the Trust's 27 February 2002 meeting Tao Tauroa suggested the Trust ask the Māori Queen to be the project's patron. One local hapū discussed concrete goals for hosting cultural ecotourism on Maungatautari's northern face. Ally Tairi related that Maungatautari Marae Committee minutes (which I was respectfully denied access to), over a number of years, detail a long held debate between those favouring development and those against it. Those in favour wanted chalets or huts built as a better option to the open camping of trampers and scouts (recorded interview, 17 Nov. 2011, Cambridge). Later, with the formation of MEIT, the chalet idea was promoted among some NKK members that envisioned, as part of any northern enclosure site, a visitor centre that catered to and blended the cultural and eco-tourism aspects of the project. At the time of writing, this development goal has not been realised.

Others in the Trust envisioned a visitor and education centre as the project's primary visitor amenity, with it to be on Maungatautari's southern face. A few facts exist to underpin the financial and logistical logic of establishing a visitor centre there. One, Arapuni Road, which runs along Maungatautari's southern flank, connects cruise ship passengers from Tauranga to the famed and much visited Waitomo district, and thus carries heavy tourist traffic. Two, the alternate southern site had a paper road— a road existing on district council maps which can be easily developed as needed. The road, when developed, would provide easy vehicle access to the mountain for project workers and visitors alike, as well as any future adjacent visitor centre. Three, the advantages and ease of developing the southern site contrasted sharply with any proposed northern site. The north side did not have a paper road where needed. Any road there would have to traverse land specifically acquired and surveyed for the purpose, and some of the land in the vicinity was multiple-owner Māori block land, laden with unresolved[5] and ambiguous ownership. Additionally, some Māori land there was

[5] Traditionally, Māori tribes never 'owned' land, rather they felt they belonged to the land and were the guardians and caretakers of it. No doubt strong ties were created between them and areas of land or certain pieces of land, in particular, those infused with stories of esteemed ancestors, those that provided well for

under lease and being used for stock grazing. The north side also does not have the benefit of an existing tourist corridor near it. For these reasons, those in the Trust anxious to quickly and easily produce visitor tourism dollars to help support the project, discounted the north side, and viewed the south side as far better suited for tourism development. In 2012 Manu Tioriori, the Southern Enclosure's visitor's centre officially opened, and through educational and tour operations available there, some degree of local Māori culture, and a history of Maungatautari, is presented as part of the story of biodiversity conservation there.

Some local hapū members and Pākehā early on courted the idea of having two sub-enclosures, each with its own ecotourism and/or education encounter scheme. Minutes from the 19 March 2003 Trust meeting relate Jim Mylchreest, then MEIT CEO, stated that due to issues of access on the northern side and complications related to gaining access, he felt it would be advisable to build the southern sub-enclosure first, then fence the entire maunga, and lastly, complete the northern sub-enclosure. Peter Tairi then acknowledged the access issues associated with the northern side, related that NKK landowners needed to form land trusts, and advised that more consultation would be required if a road was wanted there. In pursuing a southern enclosure first, Peter related that some hapū members felt MEIT was diverting from its plan of creating the first sub-enclosure on Maungatautari's north side.

Continuing, Peter remarked that he and Tao Tauroa had promoted the plan for an initial enclosure on the north side to NKK's members because this was what they were told by others in the Trust's formative period. With talk of plans to start a sub-enclosure on the southern side first, he and Tao, he said, were being accused of misleading their people. He added that for local Māori, Pukeatua (the small village on Maungatautari's southern slope) was the 'back door' of Maungatautari, explaining that building a sub-enclosure there first was akin to entering a home by its back door, constituting a bad omen and practice. He reminded them that for twenty years the north side's Hicks Road public access to Maungatautari was the only recognised public access point. Peter then opined that if MEIT were seen to be helping NKK development efforts, like tourist/backpacker quarters, MEIT would garner

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their needs, and those which held the remains of family members and ancestors. With the onset of British colonialism and their laws and conventions, especially those regarding land ownership and control, and amidst the need for settlers to acquire land from Māori, land ownership and the ability to sell land were concepts which were steadily introduced and promulgated in New Zealand among the Māori. Over time, Māori were compelled to adopt and operate by these Western ways of connecting land to humans. Because hapū were connected to certain lands and no one person "owned" any portion of it, Māori land blocks were created to connect a number of individuals to a piece of land in lieu of any one person owning it. Ownership of this land, though jointly held with others, was inherited through family lines, multiplying owners of it. However, requisite paperwork to formally recognise these new owners is infrequently lodged, leaving a great deal of ambiguity regarding ownership in many cases.

support from wider Māoridom and cultivate new local and national funding opportunities for MEIT. Lastly, he asserted that local Māori expected the amenities of any southern enclosure to complement those of their northern enclosure.

Tau Tauroa in this conversation then explained to fellow trustees, who are not Māori, the pressures marae-representing MEIT trustees shouldered. For one, they had to act more as intermediaries than representatives empowered to make decisions. The marae representatives were, he indicated, accountable to more than 30,000 people among their sub-tribes, who like them, connect to Maungatautari and share longstanding concerns over their hapū, mana, history, identity and culture (Trust Minutes, 19 Mar. 2003, Cambridge). Though they wanted the project to move forward, he said they could not in good conscience ignore long-term impacts of the project upon hapū, especially as NKK had lodged a Treaty claim that included Maungatautari. Consequently, in view of these realities, he explained, marae representatives had to carefully consider decisions and adhere to Māori tikanga. What this meant at this juncture in the project, he clarified, was beginning the project at the mountain's 'front door' through the completion of a northern sub-enclosure before anything else (Trust Minutes, 19 Mar. 2003, Cambridge).

Bill Garland, a local Pākehā farmer, adjoining landowner, and trustee at the time, heard Peter's comments and expressed a conciliatory stance on behalf of Pākehā in MEIT. He iterated that Māori see the mountain as *their* maunga and that the Trust should have asked for NKK's blessing in regard to this additional sub-enclosure. He then added that it is more important, even imperative, to have all stakeholder groups in the Trust on the same page. Gordon Blake and Albert Andree-Wiltens then indicated it was clear the Trust, in proposing a primary southern sub-enclosure, had offended hapū by not consulting with them. Tao and Ally then expressed concern that Māori protocol and interests were not being considered, as proper consultation on the matter was lacking. Tao reiterated that local iwi members needed, even deserved, a chance to consider and weigh in on the matter. For many of them, he explained, their land on Maungatautari was the only land they owned, and it would forever be locked up behind the project's fence.

In the exchange some recognised a positive development in the Trust. A number expressed hope as issues and differing viewpoints were being openly expressed and discussed. They acknowledged the existence of a cultural divide amongst stakeholders and the need to overcome it. A Te Reo Māori wānanga or workshop was even proposed to familiarise trustees about Māori words, pronunciations and meanings. Trust and project leaders expressed a desire to be better informed by hapū about concerns that could affect

major aspects[6] of the project. Marae representatives reminded them that they had informed the Trust that intra-hapū consultation on matters was slow, and consequently, other stakeholder members in the Trust needed to be more patient in decision-making. The meeting's discussion on the matter came to rest on the goal for all stakeholders to be 'on the same page' through earnest communication, more consultation and concerted planning to both achieve project goals and meet the cultural needs of Mana Whenua.

A few other key sources of information shed additional light on the matter and what influenced its resolution. In an interview with Carley Rolley, David Wallace allowed that "[w]hen we started out, Jim [Mylchreest] and I were hell bent on fencing the Southern Enclosure first" (Rolley n.d.:12). Again, they were intent on quickly establishing a modest, but reliable revenue stream. David then recollected NKK's protest, and his initial responses:

> The Maungatautari people came and said, 'you cannot do that, you have to do the Northern Enclosure first and this is because the sun rises in the north.' For some of them I do not think that was too serious, but I did go and talk to Ally and Robert Tairi's mother. She is an old lady now, for whom I have a huge deal of respect, and she told me about the Māori protocol and…because it was genuine for her, I just accepted it. And it was a problem for [MEIT]. [Rolley n.d.:12]

Wanting more detail on the situation's resolution, I asked the Wallaces why construction emphasis shifted from the Southern Enclosure to complete the northern one first. (See Appendix D for the full exchange.) David said this of iwi protests and the change:

> …we were a bit startled by this, 'you should build one side before you build the other side.' We didn't think it would make any difference but we had to respect that... Did it have real cultural significance for them? …I went…to Nora Tairi and…I didn't see her very often, but I had a friendship with her and I said, '…we're starting to build the Southern Enclosure because that is where we have got access and the people, but the iwi, the Māori trustees, …are saying 'no, you should build the northern one first. Tell me about that'. And she gave me the story, 'David the sun rises here', and she gave it authenticity for me… …It was their oral history, and they were applying some principle in their culture to this, I said 'that's fine'. I went back and said to the Trust, 'we'll build the northern one first'. Cut, finish, that's it. …if she tells me that's part of the culture, we just do it. So we did it. [recorded interview, 18 Aug. 2011, Karapiro]

[6] In this case, deference to hapū stakeholders incurred significant cost for the Trust and logistical challenges for project's CEO and contracted workers tasked with preparing the fence's foundation through earthworks and installing the fence and waterway culverts. In returning project work emphasis to the north side, it meant renegotiating contracted work, the changing of work plans and schedules and the relocation of major equipment, such as diggers and bulldozers, from the Southern Enclosure worksite to the northern one. In essence, the decision to upend work plans and restage work from the southern to the northern side was a major concession and reconciliatory move made by non-Māori MEIT stakeholders toward Māori stakeholders.

As David tells it, Nora Tairi convinced him a cultural principle/protocol applied to the situation. Due to New Zealand's low position in the Southern Hemisphere and the earth's tilt, the sun's path across the sky lies to the north. The northern side of the maunga receives more sunlight first and more directly. Perhaps this determines the front door of Maungatautari. The project work to be done can be seen as the 'person' or visitor entering the maunga. It is only proper that one enter by the front entrance, just as tikanga dictates a visitor enter a marae only by its front entrance. For all these reasons, David learnt, the project needed to truly commence on the northern side via a full completed sub-enclosure. Nora's explanation apparently convinced him, building on what marae trustees had conveyed, and brought about a change to sub-enclosure construction. Subsequently, the Northern Enclosure was completed three months ahead of its southern counterpart.

Partnership and Sub-enclosure Construction

Meeting notes and interviews reveal that David, as Trust chairman, along with other Trust officers, listened to Māori trustees concerning where the first sub-enclosure should be, and in concert with Mana Whenua, held a formal project commencement ceremony at Maungatautari Marae that included both a turning of the soil and a tapu lifting rite. Hapū likely assumed that because the project formally started on the northern side with construction on what would become the Northern Enclosure, this construction would be completed before any other enclosure was started, or at least before any other was completed. Jointly, all Trustees shared the concern to develop revenue for the project, but some, namely the marae representatives, simply held other more pressing concerns: observing cultural protocol, fostering hapū-wide decision-making, and ensuring those project developments which held the potential to affect local hapū, occurred as discussed and approved by the Trust. For local Māori, both the recognised need for MEIT to establish a visitors enclosure adjacent a tourist route in an attempt to collect revenue, and the urgency to do so, were not sufficient reasons to override logically inferred expectations and local or pan-Māori cultural protocol. Even so, some local hapū members and some marae representatives were neither unaware of, nor unsympathetic to, the Trust's efforts to maintain some sort of project momentum and develop revenue streams. Tao Tauroa indicated he was in touch with both Māori and Pākehā worlds and that he wanted to see things done on a timetable, much as others did, but added that there were times when he was required to step back into the Māori world (i.e. prioritise his Māori/hapū obligations over any others) (Trust Minutes, 19 Mar. 2003, Cambridge).

Thus, the sub-enclosure completion incident can be attributed to some missteps: a lack of constant communication between stakeholders and the project's management team, and of greater interest to this thesis, inattentiveness to the nuanced sociocultural milieu in New Zealand wherein differences between sociocultural backgrounds and lived experience between project participants and stakeholders produce inter-cultural challenges to collaboration. The challenge this sociocultural milieu presents for the project's collaborative sphere begins with what has been a pervasive condition in New Zealand. By and large the actual social and cultural experience of most New Zealanders is a 'monocultural' one, a dominant and default sociocultural environment its citizens operate within, stemming from the Western-derived settler culture (Goldsmith 2003a:285)[7]. In this environment, many know little of, or experience alterity— the fundamental cultural beliefs, values and practices of the marginalised, the minority, the 'other'. Engagement between the sociocultural dominant and the marginalised occurs on the terms of the former. Under these conditions, Māori culture is relegated to tropes attached to public performances— oft repeated ceremonial and/or spiritual roles in socially-approved situations. In such a milieu would consultation with a minority group always be prioritised? Public discourse in New Zealand has over the last few decades focused on producing or recognising 'biculturalism', a state wherein Māori culture and values are to be increasingly recognised and included, which, as a reaction, has fuelled exertions by many to define what it means to be Pākehā. Despite the lofty goals of this discursive national goal in biculturalism, lived experience for most still entails operating in a Western-based sociocultural milieu. This means that in most interactions and endeavours Māori of necessity continue to conform to dominant Western sociocultural prescriptions.

In the MEIT project, marae representatives had to act for, and in behalf of, hapū interests, which largely consists of whānau, and act in another sense, for wider Māoridom. They were operating under great pressure to pursue certain cultural goals and abide by cultural protocol. Further, this responsibility had to be carried out within an organisation that nominally had twice as many Pākehā individuals in official positions, and navigated in a

[7] A certain fieldwork experience illustrates the reality of, and extent to which, New Zealand society can be monocultural. One female project volunteer enthusiastically informed me that though she was a lifelong resident of the Waikato region, she never, until recently, had any exposure to Māori individuals or culture. A work assignment change brought regular interaction with Māori in their homes. She became familiar with a few Māori families and the tikanga they practised. She learnt, she said, they do "think differently" and realised that theirs was an entirely distinct culture, existing right under her nose (fieldnotes, 30 Oct. 2010, Pukeatua). During fieldwork, I learnt that few Pākehā had much experience on a marae. One local Māori explained, 'one doesn't see many white faces on the marae', as many of these events were esoteric. Consequently, I conclude it is entirely possible for Pākehā New Zealanders to go a lifetime and never visit a marae, nor experience immersive Māori tikanga and culture.

format— a trust organisation with bylaws, rules and procedures— that is unmistakably Western. However, some Pākehā MEIT officers have experienced local Māori culture beyond the more visible and public roles Māori culture often is relegated to. Through local government positions, Alan Livingston, Jim Mylchreest and Gordon Blake acquired experience in liaising and consulting with local hapū groups and have had marae experiences. David Wallace, through family businesses, had regular contact with some local Māori families. Bill Garland's parents early in his life intentionally brought him to local Māori individuals to learn some of their cultural ways. Still, they may have, as others, relied on their own cultural sensibilities and notions of how an organisation should be run and how and what decisions should be made and by whom (e.g., Trustees, or the chairperson, or management). It was a way many were accustomed to completing tasks in their own lives and careers whether in business, government or private endeavours. This Western-derived way of running an organisation and project seemingly didn't lend itself to discovering the particulars or deeper interests of an indigenous culture relegated to a minority status. Efforts were made, and some in hindsight, to glean their input and accommodate their tikanga, but they didn't always garner Mana Whenua satisfaction.

At other times, it did. The official launch ceremony at what would become the Northern Enclosure incorporated a marae visit and a more circumspect ceremonial start to the project. Trustees, dignitaries, and local government representatives were welcomed onto Maungatautari Marae through a pōwhiri and mihimihi, which built familiarity and satisfied hapū protocol for the occasion. After some time on the marae, the group proceeded up the road and through a paddock and witnessed a Māori blessing of the site and a lifting of tapu, permitting official construction of the fence to commence. Following this and a ceremonial turn of turf, an hour and a half of kōrero took place before they ate lunch together in the marae's *wharekai* (eating hall).

When this sub-enclosure misstep occurred, it seems clear that stakeholders with a Western, settler-derived cultural background wanted to abide by, respect, and incorporate Mana Whenua cultural ways, evidenced by the combination of a blessing and tapu lifting with a turn of turf ceremony, or the move to return construction emphasis to the Northern Enclosure. What stands out in the 'about face' the Trust made in shifting construction emphasis is that it was needed in the first place; and that it occurred. First, it meant that there was a missed opportunity to consult better and proactively produce inclusive decisions. The minutes from the 19 March 2003 and 25 March 2003 Trust meetings attest to this conclusion. Agreement was made that the incident was a wakeup call for all involved in the project and

that they now had a chance to collaborate better in the future. The situation came about not because those in the Trust did not want to respect iwi protocol, but because of unfamiliarity with local hapū beliefs and protocol beyond a superficial awareness, and a failure to permit internal hapū debate to thoroughly vet issues before important decisions were made and implemented. Involving Mana Whenua in key decisions, such as a change in construction focus (in this case, emphasising the Southern Enclosure) or clarification as to what would or could occur by way of direct consultation on the matter, could have helped the Trust avoid unplanned costs, delays and more importantly, build a stronger multi-stakeholder relationship. To the credit of all involved and despite the problem it posed for the Trust in delaying completion of a southern sub-enclosure, and the logistical nightmare of changing construction plans, the Northern Enclosure was completed first and stakeholder relations generally improved for a time thereafter.

Indigenous Use/Harvest Rights and Biodiversity Conservation

On what was my second[8] visit to Maungatautari Marae, 3 September 2009, I and a few others volunteers/parents accompanied schoolchildren there for a cultural sharing day. Following the customary niceties, songs and dance, we had morning tea in the marae's dining hall, or wharekai. At this time a male hapū member stood and spoke about the wharekai's large mural depicting Maungatautari, its slopes, the marae and its community and various native birds. He described his upbringing on the marae and pointed out aspects of life shown in the mural. Maungatautari and its forest, he explained, was an immense rear section or backyard to him and others, a place he and his mates regularly explored, unsupervised, days at a time. He pointed out a number of homes with gardens depicted in the mural. He and others of the marae community, he said, continued to cultivate and live off their gardens and what they obtain from the bush. He allowed that while they were not supposed to use

[8] My first visit to this marae occurred In an effort to integrate into the Cambridge community through volunteering and participating in various community organisations, events, and activities. My family and I regularly attended and participated in a local church attended by congregants within and outside the district. Soon thereafter, one ailing fellow congregant, from NKK, passed away. A small number of male fellow congregants and I attended a tangihanga for this gentleman on Maungatautari Marae, assisted in presenting a funeral service per his wishes, and sang a church hymn. We accompanied his whānau and NKK members to the nearby urupā (cemetery), participated in interment rites, ritually washed our hands when leaving the cemetery, and returned to the marae. We stayed for lunch in the marae's wharekai (dining hall) and I stayed after to meet his whānau and others from the marae. Incidentally, whilst talking with individuals after the meal, I encountered the first unfavourable opinions I heard regarding MEIT's development of the over-the-mountain track. This constituted my first experience there and enabled me to begin the process of forming acquaintances and friendships with NKK hapū members.

resources from Maungatautari[9], it was their mountain and because of this fact, no one would or could really stop their clandestine use. As he spoke I wondered what resources he was referring to. From my 2007 visit to Maungatautari, and a recent visit there, I saw little in the way of animal life, not even birds, and regarding flora, noted only trees, vines, a few species of fern and various mushrooms growing on trees. The forest floor was thin and sparse and the bush overall seemed strangely still and silent, except for the odd fantail (*Rhipidura fuliginosa*) fliting around, or the calls of the eastern rosella (*Platycercus eximius*), small birds more recently established in New Zealand from Australia. Before my first trip to New Zealand, I learnt about kererū, New Zealand's threatened endemic wood pigeon, which was, through the nineteenth century, a common element of the Māori diet. Could he, I wondered, have been referring to kererū? Perhaps he knew places on Maungatautari where they nested and could be sourced or maybe he was referring to a few plants used for food and/or medicine?

Later that day, one of the hapū's male kaumātua led us through the Northern Enclosure. Walking along, he pointed out various plants and discussed their practical food and medicinal uses, including the kavakava plant and the supplejack vine. Flicking up leaf litter, he lamented the paucity of invertebrate and insect life on the forest floor, which, he said, should otherwise have been flourishing amidst the forest detritus. He attributed the condition to 1080[10] poison dropped on Maungatautari in years past, saying it permeated the food chain, killed everything it got into and remained residually available in dead fauna. I did however notice the forest undergrowth seemed more robust than it was two years before, though I failed to sight or hear any birds (though admittedly our noisy group of school children could have scared any present away or drowned out their calls). Thus, I wondered whether the forest was able to sustain avifauna in any respectable numbers and if so, were birds like kererū still harvested, eaten and if so, under what conditions?

[9] Maungatautari, long designated a Crown Scenic Reserve, was acknowledged to be a somewhat sacrosanct by many in the community. Anecdotally, however, goat and pig hunting occurred there, as well as clandestine timber felling and removal (though reportedly not by Māori). In talking with local Māori, many were aware that material should not be removed from a reserve, but asserted cultural rights existed.

[10] 1080, or sodium fluoroacetate, with the formula FCH2CO2Na, is a pesticide that acts as a metabolic poison. It can be produced from a naturally-occurring herbicide metabolite various plants produce to compete against other plants, or via a synthetic process. In New Zealand 1080 is often aerially dropped in bait form, with a cinnamon lure. This enables DOC and ecosystem managers to quickly reduce possum, rat and stoat populations in rugged and remote areas, while minimizing by-kill of endemic species not attracted to cinnamon. Lower numbers of these invasive pests, especially during high fruit and seed (mast) years and nesting seasons, leads to increases in native bird populations. Research DOC summarises on its website indicates 1080 does not bio-accumulate, breaks down in the environment into non-toxic by-products, and dilutes quickly in water. However, a vocal anti-1080 movement exists in New Zealand that advocates for a ban on 1080 use, citing insect and animal food chain deaths, animal suffering, and potential human health risks.

The question of customary use of kererū was central in my initial problematising of multi-stakeholder collaboration in the Maungatautari project. I recognised a tension between preservationist goals that prohibit the taking of kererū and other threatened species codified in Western-based systems of law and influenced by Western attitudes toward the environment and conservation, and Māori customary use rights and tikanga founded on tradition, their cultural values, and a remembered history that Māori did, in times past, regularly subsist on species that are now protected. On this marae visit I was informed that some form of customary use rights were asserted and being practiced, albeit anecdotally. Could it be that Māori customary use rights were being exercised, and not only in relation to prohibited fauna, but in a designated scenic reserve? I doubted I would actually see kererū being captured or shot on Maungatautari, or being eaten by local community members, but wondered to what extent the practice was occurring. Further, I wondered what views Mana Whenua and other community and project members espoused in relation to cultural customary rights amidst law which prohibits the hunting or possession or kererū or other threatened species, or more pointedly amidst the community's effort to restore endemic biodiversity on Maungatautari.

These concerns, reflecting my research interest concerning the role inter-cultural relations play within the project, were on my mind weeks later when I attended a graduation ceremony at the University of Waikato's ceremonial marae, 22 October, 2009. A certain Māori woman, very pregnant, took the open seat next to me, introduced herself (her name was Nanaia Mahuta, a Labour MP) and struck up a conversation which lasted an hour as we enjoyed the festivities. I informed her that I was commencing research on the Maungatautari project and community. I told her about some experiences I had whilst living on several islands in Hawai`i and my views on sociocultural and conservation issues there. We delved into these same topics as they concerned New Zealand, as well as politics and parenting. She informed me she had friends involved in MEIT and that she had helped gather some initial funding for it. She offered to introduce me to her friend, Peter Tairi, who initially had been in the Trust, but left, she said, because he and other hapū members felt local Māori were not being included in the project to the extent they should. She offered suggestions to help me initiate research and integrate into the community. When I raised the issue of customary use rights in Hawai`i, she mentioned the emblematic issue of kererū. She informed me that the bird was at times eaten by loved ones near death but also it was simply a prized, cherished food. We discussed the threatened status applied to kererū and customary use rights juxtaposed to it. I told her of my recent visit on Maungatautari Marae and of being informed that some still use some resources, perhaps even kererū, from the maunga. She again

conceded such use does occur in general, and that most people know about it, but that it was just discussed in hushed tones.

This conversation with MP Mahuta crystallised the issue and question which I briefly examined in a master's thesis: the intersection of local Māori cultural harvest rights and conservation aims for Maungatautari (Harms 2008). If kererū are threatened and hence protected by law and yet remain for some Māori a valued element of their culture and/or identity, then how are pervasive Western-shaped values and preservationist laws cognitively and practically navigated by Mana Whenua? Also, what do non-Māori community and project members think of preservationist policies vis-à-vis the cultural rights of a fellow stakeholder group? Further, among MEIT stakeholder groups, what cultural notions and discourses are utilised and/or connected to decisions involving conservation and customary use rights, whether it be with kererū or other flora and fauna on Maungatautari? Additionally, if these natural resources are used, then in what manner and under what conditions are they utilised?

At the outset of fieldwork I was aware that for some Māori the eating of kererū by loved ones near death may be viewed as spiritually significant and even contextually appropriate or required (Young 2004:217). Pragmatically, in the North Island kererū formerly were an important protein source from May to July and from December to February, whilst culturally they were associated with the famous Polynesian demi-god Maui through stories of him clandestinely observing his mother's exploits whilst in the form of a kererū (Garlick et al. 2010:117,152-153). Do these beliefs, traditions and stories, and any values tied to them, remain a part of any pattern of use or non-use of kererū presently? Do concepts like rāhui (traditional tapū-linked temporary use bans) and kaitiakitanga have a part to play in this or any contemporary customary use patterns and if so how? Are any of these Māori cultural concepts and practices known among Pākehā in the community and project, and if so, to what degree are they accepted? On the other side of this coin, Western biological science has recognised kererū to be a crucial seed disperser for many large, fruiting endemic trees, making it a critical element in forest restoration efforts (Craig et al. 2000:69). Is such information stored in traditional knowledge and employed in any consideration of tapu or the use of rāhui on the bird? To what degree is Western-based ecological and biological science known among local Māori hapū and participants? Lastly, what narratives, if any, are being told to support positions and actions local Māori and Pākehā take in relation to kererū or any customary use?

Participant Views

The above concerns and questions provided an initial guiding inquiry for the entire research endeavour. Accordingly, because semi-structured participant interviews collected a package of information from conversations that explored many interrelated topics, they constitute a primary informational source to address these questions. Before I present these discussions, it is helpful to include an instance where DOC and local iwi, to a degree, collaboratively addressed some of these concerns in another location in New Zealand as it provides for a useful comparison or launching point. In the kererū-depleted north end of the North Island, in what has been touted as a healthy partnership model for biodiversity conservation, DOC entrusted pest/predator management of Motatau Valley to Ngāti Hine, the local Māori subtribe there, with the ultimate goal to increase local kererū numbers (Young 2004:217-218). In the effort, Ngāti Hine effectively suspended customary harvest rights in the interest of preserving the species. Though it sounds as if they have enacted a rāhui, Young, a professional researcher and author who briefly discusses the partnership in his history of conservation in New Zealand, *Our Islands, Our Selves* (2004), does not with certainty indicate whether Ngāti Hine invoked a formal rāhui to enforce a ban on taking or eating kererū from the area or whether the decision to not take kererū was ratified by simple majority, near-consensus, or full consensus via hapū/marae discussions on the matter. Aware of this partnership before the onset of fieldwork, I wondered whether Maungatautari's Mana Whenua had informally or formally entered into any management co-partnership, engaged a rāhui, or by some other means discouraged, or set about regulating, extraction of kererū and/or other resources.

Recall the Wallace's visit to Maungatautari Marae in the formative days of the project, when they discussed this issue. Following David's prediction of a rejuvenated forest, with 'kererū everywhere multiplying up', one person asked him what the Trust's and DOC's stance would be relative to the cultural harvest of kererū on Maungatautari. David explained what happened next:

> Well, I thought that's a curly one. …Luckily, the whole group took it out of [my hands]. …One person said 'no way you can do that here, we are…trying to bring these birds back from low populations or even extinction, must never do that'. …another person said 'yeah, I think we should be able to do it'. It went backwards and forwards and finally one person said 'I'll tell you, this is what we'll do, we will have the cultural harvest of the kererū each year, but we will give each iwi group quotas.' …then Ally Tairi…got up and said, 'That's all very well, the problem with our people is we put a zero on the end of the quota, so 10 becomes 100'…and everybody roared with laughter, and then we passed

onto the next subject. [recorded interview, 18 Aug. 2011, Karapiro]

After this rendition, the Wallace's in our interview continued for a time on the subject, providing more insight into the matter:

> **David:** …that was a touch on cultural harvest. So you can imagine...
> **Juliette:** For me it's just taking what you need in order to sustain yourself so that's how it was, Māoridom…lived here…
> **David:** I was explaining to Matt though, by the 16th century, they had been here three or four hundred years, and…they were starting to get a bit short of food and that's when the wars amongst themselves started, as resources were not as plentiful…
> **Juliette:** Well, that would be inland resources. On the coastline…
> **David:** Yes, still plenty of fish I suppose, and seals, although the seals went down hugely in numbers I think...
> **Juliette:** But…they started then to become less nomadic and they planted kumara and …remained in their areas a little more...
> **Author:** Became more sedentary…
> **Juliette:** Well, from my studies anyhow. …they started to become…less subsistence and more settled.
> **Author:** Hmm, …that is a real interesting issue because, …just like in Hawai`i…[with] some reserves there— …in order to do a particular ceremony, [a hula halau (school)] needed certain flowers, and certain plants,…but those were endangered specimens. But allowance was made for them to go…culturally harvest them for a cultural purpose.
> **Juliette:** But it's like anything, …it can be abused too, that's the thing. [recorded interview, 18 Aug. 2011, Karapiro]

The practice of cultural harvest amidst the nascent MEIT project, whether for kererū or anything else, evidently was on the minds of both the Wallaces and NKK members. Some hapū members advocated for cultural harvest; others opposed it. It seems clear those opposing it, whether Māori or Pākehā, shared the same concern: the project was about restoring biota and the risk of retarding this effort through cultural harvesting loomed large.

I discussed the matter with the late Gordon Stephenson, an environmentally-minded farmer and MEIT project enthusiast, who has been both an MEIT trustee, deputy chairman and co-chair. Regarding my question about decisions MEIT stakeholders may have made regarding cultural harvest rights, particularly with species like kererū that are markers of culture and identity, he replied

> …you mention the question of cultural harvest. I go back to that word we were discussing an hour ago; sustainability. I am aware that it's not so very long since, …you would see…flocks of a hundred kererū flying around. If you go into some parts of the country, there would be flocks of thousands of kererū flying around. Harvesting a small…fraction of that has no impact, and it wouldn't worry me, on Maungatautari, if

> we got flocks of a hundred flying around, …Mana whenua requesting permission to harvest five or ten or just at that. That wouldn't worry me because it would have minimal, if any, impact on the population levels. Likewise I have no problems with people going in and harvesting rongoa, …plants used for…medicinal purposes, like kawakawa…for stomach upsets, et cetera, providing that in so doing, it is not all taken, it is harvested sustainably. [recorded interview, 14 Dec. 2010, Putaruru]

In discussing the topic with Robyn Nightingale of Raukawa, who also has been a trustee, she mentioned tono, the process by which formal relationships are forged between hapū/iwi groups, and the method iwi employed to bring animals to Maungatautari. "You are sourcing species from outside to translocate to Maungatautari. We become their caregivers or kaitiaki, …accepting them on terms from that donating hapū or iwi…" (recorded interview, 24 Feb. 2012, Parawera). Continuing, she laid out the possibility any particular hapū group could provide kererū under tono via a MoU and years later ask MEIT for some birds, presumably for cultural harvest or for restoring them to their rohe. Inferring she likely was not in favour of harvesting kererū, I asked her to consider the needs of local hapū, relating some informed me they enjoyed eating kererū. To this she gently chuckled. I reminded her about the kōura incident, where a few local Māori youth took and ate freshwater crayfish from the stream inside the Southern Enclosure, and suggested cultural harvest rights would likely remain an ongoing issue. I then asked her what her hapū had decided to do. Replying, she said

> I don't think any decision has been made by our lot because we're not even talking numbers. And the other thing too is that it isn't to remove them, because that is…our tūpuna maunga, our ancestral mountain. If they were to be harvested, they'd be harvested there and it can be done because of its status and because of how it's been put together. But, who knows, some cuzzy bro[11]…who's got a patch [i.e. some land with bush and kererū] up north who is prepared to…to remove birds for food, they may choose to do that and send it home to us… [recorded interview, 24 Feb. 2012, Parawera]

In this exchange, she let her voice trail off at the end without completing her thought, allowing me to gather the conclusion— Maungatautari could be a source for traditional foods, but many, like her, no longer see it as such, because other sources exist.

[11] The phrase "cuzzy bro" is slang in New Zealand for a Māori individual, and more often, as I gathered, referred to a male Māori individual: it combines 'cousin' and 'brother'.

A certain married Māori couple I interviewed provided additional nuance on the topic of cultural harvest. Tuku (a pseudonym) from NKK's Pohara Marae, conveyed a stronger initial stance than Robyn. For him, cultural harvest of animals at Maungatautari was something he had a hard time accepting:

> People talk about cultural harvest… at the moment, …I wouldn't— for me…it means because we are Māori we can have a certain amount of food, or a certain…type of thing, and you know people ask, 'oh…how are you going with…the kererū, up on the maunga?' …'must be getting ready for harvesting them?' …every time they talk about it, I just, ugh, you know, you don't want to go there… I mean…if the birds are falling out of the fence…, fair enough, but we are just trying to save [Maungatautari], we're just trying to save the birds… [recorded interview, 23 Feb. 2012, withheld]

When I asked him and Evette (a pseudonym) what 'strict preservationism' meant to them, she remarked, "well, we are doing that with the birds aren't we? …we are preserving them and nurturing them and developing them, that will be the strict preservationism. We're not allowed to go in there and kill them for kai…" (recorded interview, 23 Feb. 2012, location withheld). She chuckled as she ended her sentence, emphasising the absurdity she saw in eating birds from a biodiversity project/reserve. When I related that Tao Tauroa had admitted some people, on the odd occasion, likely still sourced kererū from Maungatautari, adding I had essentially heard as much from a man during a marae visit, Tuku visibly winced. To my comments and my apology for a slightly callous but candid disclosure, he replied "No, no, I can understand…".

Evette then asserted that preservationism was needed to prevent the taking of kererū, but added, "for how long, I don't know. …it might be, come a time when we have to do something about them, massive amounts of birds up there…", after which Tuku remarked "that's what I mean…, if the bulk of birds [are] falling out of there", then a cultural harvest would be appropriate. I then provided an example to help clarify their position: kererū gorge themselves on berries, go into sugar shock, fall out of trees, and become an easy meal. Evette then said, as she chuckled: "and suddenly you walk past and you want it!". Tuku then spoke over her laugh stating: "…that's like falling out of the fence, you got so many in there…you have to harvest them. …that's okay, but when, …it's just starting to flourish, …you've got to nurture it". Before the topic changed, I suggested a tension could and likely does exist between those that want to prohibit using kererū in the interest of conservation and those who want to follow tradition, namely providing a kererū meal for a loved one near death, to uphold tradition and perhaps also for spiritual-religious reasons. They didn't address this

tension, but confirmed their awareness of the deathbed meal tradition, and did not indicate whether or not they believed in it themselves (recorded interview, 23 Feb. 2012, Pohara).

In interviews with Tao Tauroa I made it a point to discuss the ostensibly competing goals of conservation through preservationist prescriptions of absolute non-use, and culturally-based customary use rights and traditions of Māori. I calculated his insight would be invaluable: Tao, from NKK's Pohara Marae, has been an MEIT trustee from inception, and when a co-chairperson structure was first adopted, was one of its first co-chairpersons, and for years has represented NKK in Treaty negotiations. Additionally, he is a respected farmer in, and member of, the community that has been his lifelong home.

In an interview at his Pukeatua home, 5 December 2011, we discussed our experiences and observations of the marvellous resurgence of Maungatautari's forest undergrowth following the fence's installation and the removal of most pests. Because he had previously mentioned his grandfather and father had been raised on Maungatautari's slopes, I asked whether his grandfather had ever shared his observations of Maungatautari over his lifetime. His grandfather told him stories of large lizards in the bush, as well as tuatara, which were considered an omen and an occasion for karakia. Continuing, he said, "my grandparents, they depended on Maungatautari for a food source, pigeons, tuna… …for kai from the plants, the te kōuka, harore…the mushroom…, kawa kawa…". He told me an instance of when his grandfather was sick and the whānau made efforts to help with medicine from plants, bark and berries from Maungatautari. After the story, I focused the conversation on kererū because he mentioned it was a regular food source for his grandparents. They were known as 'kukupa' by some in the area, he said. I asked whether the bird itself, or eating it, had any special significance in local hapū belief. He replied, "no…any food was a blessing…for people, because they had to work to get food. In fact…a lot of their time was spent gathering food because they weren't agricultural…they never produced food in abundance…". He added that kererū feathers were not cherished for korowai (cloaks), as the birds were never rare or prized for their plumage. They were just a blessing because it was good sustenance. Elaborating, he said:

> …in my time, [kererū] wasn't a staple… …it was something that was cherished…, whenever the chance occurred— I can only remember eating kererū perhaps twice…in my life. …they weren't exploited by people, to a degree…and they have always been around the marae environment. So our people never exploited kererū, I think testament to them surviving along with the tui…in our forest, even though it was unprotected, is just something they have learnt to adapt to, those two birds in particular. They are thriving now…because of the…the lack of predators. …so…yeah, …fatter kererū. One day we

will have a cultural harvest, who knows!? [recorded interview, 5 Dec. 2011, Pukeatua]

I related to Tao the example of Motatau Valley's Ngāti Hine deciding not to harvest kererū despite a tradition of providing them as a meal to dying loved ones, and their joint efforts with DOC to eradicate pests. I asked him, noting the bird's legal designation as a threatened bird, what NKK decided on the matter. In the exchange that followed he indicated that local hapū would "address the problem when it became a problem", adding that for now they were focused on increasing species' populations on Maungatautari and that because other reliable sources of protein were readily available, taking kererū because " 'my grandfather ate them so I should eat them' " was not good enough in this day and age (recorded interview, 5 December 2011, Pukeatua). (See Appendix E for more of this exchange.)

Often in project work I interacted with adjoining landowners and volunteers Elwyn and Albert Andree-Wiltens, who, respectively, served as a staff volunteer and landowner trustee. In discussing cultural harvest, they provided yet another set of nuanced views. Elwyn stated that cultural harvesting "is not such a bad thing, in a controlled or reasonable way— to collect plants for health, for homeopathic care… But like anything, it should be…done carefully, not plundering…" (recorded interview, 12 May 2011, Horahora). In this conversation they both agreed that harvesting could have a place on Maungatautari once animal numbers were built up, though under a monitoring programme. (See Appendix F for more of this exchange.)

I also often worked with Richard Johnstone, both before he became a community trustee and after. One day, whilst spraying weeds around the project fence, we discussed current issues and developments the Trust and its stakeholders were addressing. Over morning tea he mentioned his late father had eaten kererū occasionally. He opined some still harvest kererū even though it is against the law, asserting their cultural rights. On another occasion, when I asked what 'cultural harvest' meant to him, he explained it refers to kaimoana Tangata Whenua collect. Explaining further, he said a friend once came upon a group of Māori on the East Coast reportedly harvesting hundreds of paua, half the legal size. Having related this, he remarked of Māori and cultural harvesting:

> …some of them are not very good at it. …it's just legalising bloody poaching. …so they lose credibility. …[at] Rotoiti, kōura are there and…kōura is part of their traditional food, but [Māori]…come around there quite regularly…and our son Andrew went out there one night and said to [a] woman, 'oh, can I show the kids what you got?' 'Oh,' she said,

> ‘they’re a bit small.’ …Andrew said they were about 2 inches long. …[kōura] grow up to…4 to 5 inches if you get decent ones. …if they are plundering them at that stage it’s hardly conservation. …I don’t know about the kererū because…one of the traditions is… I don’t know…how far down the seniority line it comes, but the rangitira…, the senior man…, the last thing before they die is they have a meal…of kererū and it helps them on their way to wherever their beliefs are taking them. [recorded interview, 7 Feb. 2012, Cambridge]

Jan Doran, a volunteer in the project and lifelong Waikato resident spoke with me during volunteer work on Maungatautari and in an interview. In talking with her, when I asked about her understanding of customary use rights/cultural harvesting and what concept could be behind it, she cited her family’s experiences in Wairoa: “that would be [for] Māori, the Treaty of Waitangi would connect those two I guess, they have a lot of [cultural harvesting] in Wairoa…, …they are allowed, or have a permit that they can get crayfish, customary right crayfish for the tangi” (recorded interview, 24 Jul. 2012, Hamilton). She explained that kaumātua would grant a cultural harvest permit to others for special occasions like weddings, a 21st birthday, or a tangi. She added that “[her family], being close to the kaumātua, he has given us [a permit], but I don’t know if that is the norm, [be]cause we…had our whānau from Australia for Christmas so we were able to get a permit to…harvest extra crayfish…” (recorded interview, 24 July 2012, Hamilton).

As the conversation progressed it was evident she conceptualised cultural harvest as only the taking of large quantities of food resources for shared, special occasions. Thus, I related to her an incident where some Māori women, purportedly from Tokoroa, were met by concerned project volunteers as they exited the Southern Enclosure with various plant fronds and leaves they had collected. At mention of this, Jan stated it was for medicine and related she thought no one had the legal right to take things from Maungatautari, though she admitted she was not absolutely sure about this. She confessed she was cynical about such practices, noting a point of weakness she saw: the lack of any formal identification of who was local and who was not. A regulated permit process, she said, was the way to manage it. I then asked what importance she felt kererū might have for some Māori. “I know they used to eat them... …up North, they still claim it as their right…, but that would have been when there was plentiful kererū. Now they’re not so plentiful, (and this she said with a nice smile) so they can eat chicken…” (recorded interview, 24 Jul. 2012, Hamilton).

Ally Tairi, as a member of NKK, also offers an important and final insight on this subject. When I asked what 'cultural harvest' or 'customary use rights' meant to her, she explained they "…mean that we, Māori…don't need the government's permission to go up on the maunga to get rongoa and other things, yeah, because it's something we've always done" (recorded interview, 17 Nov. 2011, Cambridge). She explained that a right existed for her and other tangata whenua to continue using resources culturally important to them, be it for medicine, food or for some other cultural use. She quickly added this did not mean kererū were taken for food, (noting she doesn't appreciate their gamey flavour), though she does enjoy bush pikopiko and mushrooms.

Section Discussion

The excerpts included above on the topic in question, reflect the range of views and understandings on the topic, representing the diverse array of individuals and volunteer roles within the MEIT project. Among those with a Māori sociocultural background and heritage, they clearly were aware of historical Māori harvesting traditions and beliefs, and resource stewardship responsibilities. Additionally, it seems clear that most were in favour of focusing on restoring species to the maunga and permitting them to build up their populations. Further, it seems evident that local hapū stakeholders established no official rāhui to prohibit the cultural harvest of birds or flora from Maungatautari. On top of this, there is agreement that once populations of kererū became prolific, some cultural harvesting of them could occur in the future under a formal, monitored system. Even so, some Mana Whenua did acknowledge concern that cultural harvesting under any system has the potential to be abused.

Among Pākehā project participants, most were aware of historically-situated Māori traditional use of plants and animals for food and medicine, though few were aware of any spiritual-religious beliefs connected to some of that use. A slight majority held strong concerns about any cultural harvesting occurring at Maungatautari, citing the potential for abuse of the practice and/or the position that cultural harvesting of any type or at any level was simply incongruous to the biodiversity conservation being effected on Maungatautari. Those in the minority acknowledged that local cultural harvesting was important for Mana Whenua, and indicated they would accept the cultural harvesting of biota on Maungatautari under a monitored system given populations figures were high enough that such removal would not hinder the population's growth potential.

One other informing experience needs to be mentioned. On 4 September 2010, after manning the Southern Enclosure's visitor's booth, I took a walk in the enclosure, and whilst doing so, came across Karaitiana Tamatea, an NKK marae MEIT trustee at the time, and fifteen to twenty Māori individuals, who, by my estimate, ranged in age from 40 to 70 years old. I observed them walking along the Rata Track, variously stopping to look at and discuss various plants. I asked Karaitiana what they were doing, the reason for this group's visit. He said a kaumātua was pointing out and discussing various plants and their uses, adding marae members would be doing this on a regular basis. On reflection, this produced several conclusions. For one, it was evident that some NKK members were aware of a number of customary use practices, whilst there were others who knew less of such things or needed to be reminded of them. Two, there were individuals in NKK who desired to know more about traditional ways of harvesting foodstuffs and medicine from Maungatautari's bush. Three, the traditional knowledge they were learning was enabling them to harvest and use various plants and/or animals, making them agents to do so. Four, in the region, Maungatautari is the best source for a wide array of traditional forest food and medicinal species. Five, I reasoned that if they were learning this knowledge and Maungatautari remains the best site to obtain a wide array of harvestable resources, then Maungatautari, though a reserve and biodiversity restoration site, could in fact constitute and remain, for local Māori, a suitable and acceptable site for cultural harvesting. (For more detail on this, see Appendix G.) In essence, though Maungatautari is a scenic reserve, and one overlaid with a unique biodiversity conservation project, this status may not be enough of a deterrent against them practicing their cultural harvest traditions on what is their ancestral mountain, or pursuing efforts which rebuild and solidify a meaningful, collective sociocultural identity.

Again, this experience, and what it revealed, raised a number of questions. From conversations with other volunteers I found most believed Māori were not harvesting food and/or medicine from Maungatautari. Many pointed out food aplenty can be found about town in dairies, supermarkets and restaurants, and given this fact, they question who would even want to get and eat food from the bush, especially as the bush, in their mind, offered so little. However, were they aware that at least one marae was educating its members as to the traditional uses of endemic and indigenous plants on Maungatautari? I then wondered what the various stakeholders agreed on in the Trust's early days concerning cultural harvesting, given what I saw as a possible disconnect or lack of communication, or state of general unawareness concerning its likely presence.

A sense of how MEIT historically addressed this concern, can be ascertained via a search of all Trust documents from 2001 through 2004 using key words such as ‘harvest’, ‘harvesting’ and ‘customary’; however, tellingly, few instances exist. The first recorded instance was a singular mention of ‘customary’ and in an odd location no less. Following some discussion on the subject of including a clause in MEIT’s deed concerning the rotation of Trust officers, a solitary sentence, at the section’s end, page three, mentions this: “there is a need to discuss all issues with [Mana] Whenua and to establish the customary rights” (Trust minutes, 19 Apr. 2001, Cambridge). Nothing further on the topic is noted in the minutes of this meeting. The next recorded instance comes from a Science and Research Sub-committee meeting. Minutes from a 2003 meeting, located in a section titled “Relationship with Iwi and Cultural/Science Issues” found on page three, describe Gordon Stephenson asking anthropologist Dr Ngapare Hopa, of Waikato-Tainui and other tribes, whether harvesting rights for rongoā and kai were needed relative to Maungatautari. The reply, as recorded in these minutes, does not address the question or issue. Dr Hopa simply advised the Trust that iwi should not be asked to “just deal with cultural matters” as their participation in the project should be wide and inclusive of all their expertise, and not in just this one aspect (Science and Research Committee minutes, 9 Apr. 2003, Cambridge).

The remaining mention of the topic is found in a meeting of the Brodifacoum Committee, which was tasked with overseeing brodifacoum poison bait dispersal operations on Maungatautari. The minutes on page four of a 2003 meeting relate a discussion on issues relative to the aerial distribution of bait and problems it could potentially create. Amid discussion over concerns of poison bait inadvertently being dropped into any of Maungatautari’s many streams and brooks, Roger Lorrigan, an independent adviser, asserted that “consideration was needed to be given to [Māori/iwi] use of waterways for things such as watercress and eel harvesting”, as watercress might absorb it, and eel might opportunistically consume decaying possum carcasses laced with the blood thinner (Brodifacoum Committee minutes, 3 Aug. 2003, Cambridge). One other possible instance where the issue of cultural harvest rights surfaced is also found in this meeting on page six, where Ally and Marilyn Tairi expressed concern around uncertainty and the possibility of brodifacoum residually remaining in the environment. We could reasonably infer from this that they held some level of concern related to brodifacoum becoming present in kai and rongoa harvested from Maungatautari.

These instances constitute all the known instances the subject arose in recorded discussion in official Trust meetings and committee agendas and minutes over its first four years. Given the paucity of recorded discussion on the issue and a lack of real depth to them, and the fact that only one takes place in a Trust board meeting, its seems reasonable to conclude that no official debate between stakeholders took place in the formative years of the project with the result that no official Trust stance on the matter was formulated or adopted. Indeed, no official Trust declaration on the matter was located. Thus, absent an official Trust stance, it is possible that stakeholder groups and community members were left to decide on their own what their project partners expected in terms of use or non-use of flora and fauna in the reserve and project, whether for some level or form of use or for strict protectionism. Given the project's goal to restore and conserve biodiversity on Maungatautari, it is also possible some Pākehā assumed that by default, no cultural harvesting would occur there. Whatever the case may be, it is evident some in the Trust and community, as documented, remained open to Mana Whenua stakeholders exercising cultural harvest rights or were aware that the exercise of such rights, for local Māori, was an option not removed from the table.

Taking into account information gleaned from participants and from Trust documents, and my experiences and conclusions, the potential for future conflict concerning cultural harvesting on Maungatautari is quite real. Dissonance among project stakeholders on the matter holds the potential to cause discord within MEIT and the community. A fracture could develop within Pākehā stakeholder member groups, and between those against its practice and Māori stakeholders. There is even potential for some within the Māori stakeholder group to disagree on what course to take. Evidently, among most Pākehā participants, the matter of cultural harvesting, whether allowable or not, seems to be resolved in their minds, while amongst Mana Whenua, the matter has simply been pushed down the road for another time. Again, this dichotomy points to the very real fact that differences of a cultural nature and differing beliefs and opinions are affecting, and have the potential to affect, the MEIT community and its project. The possibility is high that at some future point, a debate on whether to commence formal/monitored cultural harvesting on Maungatautari, or even raise the matter for debate, could engender discord amongst stakeholders and strain the multi-stakeholder partnership and thereby affect the project.

Other Customary Rights, Protectionism, and Science

A number of project facets and aspects, pertaining to the human–biota relationship, illustrate the ways in which culture has impacted MEIT multi-stakeholder relationships and the project. These aspects of the project and related incidents, showcase the cognitive dissonance and tension that exists between project stakeholder groups and those involved, lie on a spectrum, with indigenous customary rights on one end, and prescriptions of scientific thought and practice, and policies based on them, at the other end. In many ways they evince the pull some stakeholders feel to continue or re-establish traditional practices, which could be viewed as identity and group (re)construction, or the desire by other stakeholders to adhere to scientific tenets and practices in order to produce results and achieve goals, which from their sociocultural background, are valued and hence prioritised. Two events are included here, due to concerns for space, though they provide the adequate insight into MEIT stakeholder partnership dynamics pertaining to cultural concepts, systems of knowledge and biodiversity conservation.

Salvaging Feathers, Maintaining Links

In the early afternoon, 5 February 2010, Mark Lammas approached Rod Millar and me at the Northern Enclosure entrance. Mark, a volunteer (later he became a project employee), was there to conduct health checks on some of the twelve kiwi birds in the Northern Enclosure. At Rod's suggestion, I accompanied Mark to help him in the task. As we tramped through the bush and employed a portable aerial antenna to detect the radio transmitters the birds wore, Mark and I discussed a number of things and he informed me his 'little pinkie is Māori', noting some South Island Māori ancestry. After our first kiwi eluded us, we located another bunkered down in a burrow. After some effort, Mark retrieved, and then weighed, measured and looked over the kiwi as I held the youngling who happened to be the first kiwi born on Maungatautari in a lifetime. The health check completed, Mark returned the bird to its burrow and did something I did not expect. He retrieved the seven or eight inch-long feathers that had fallen off the bird during the procedure. He informed me these feathers were prized by local hapū members who could use them to repair and restore prized korowai, or ceremonial feather cloaks. He explained nobody else but Māori had the legal right to possess the feathers. Supposedly, laws were in place, he explained, that more than prohibiting any 'non-Māori' person from killing and taking a bird, it barred them from even possessing kiwi feathers and/or any parts of the birds. So, in essence, a Western-based law was engaging a strict protectionism for any use of kiwi, for any person not Māori, and

protected Māori cultural rights relative to kiwi. Lastly, he explained local hapū could also use the feathers as koha, or gift offerings, for other iwi who provide donor animals for the project.

I learnt from this experience that customary/indigenous use rights entailed aspects other than food and medicine. The feathers could be used to restore prized ceremonial cloaks which had over time lost a feather or two. Another use for the feathers came with the process of forming and maintaining inter-iwi relationships in connection with obtaining animals to bring to Maungatautari. Tono, a rite or procedure, which Māori in times past often used to create a formal inter-iwi relationship to establish and support a marriage involving a person from an outside group, was used in the project to create relationships and honour-bound obligations between iwi so that animals could be translocated to Maungatautari by project iwi adopting the kaitiaki role for those animals (fieldnotes, 16 Feb. 2012, Cambridge; Biodiversity Sub-committee notes, 10 Jul. 2012, Pukeatua). Project hapū, when visiting another hapū as part of securing donor animals, could use kiwi feathers as part of their koha to the donor iwi group. A koha of kiwi feathers would then act to strengthen the bond between the groups, as the receiving iwi could use them to restore korowai they possess. The inclusion of this practice in the project contributed to fruitful inter-hapū/iwi relationships and healthy donor iwi–MEIT relations, setting the stage for more easily achieved future translocations. Further, MEIT has sent kiwi birds, born on the maunga, back to donor iwi, and received new specimens, as part of ensuring a healthy genetic distribution in the species. These specimen exchanges, and the relationships behind them, rely on project Mana Whenua maintaining good relations with donor iwi. The gifting of kiwi feathers, or the observance of proper protocol relative to the death of a donated bird, similarly serves to maintain these relationships. Thus, supporting and observing Māori cultural needs and traditions in these ways helped produce beneficial outcomes for MEIT and the project.

Intransigence in a Translocation

Over the weekend of 13-15 April 2012, one hundred Mahoenui Giant Wētā[12] (*Deinacrida mahoenui*) were introduced into Maungatautari's Southern Enclosure. The endemic species' path to Maungatautari, however, was not without incident: its reintroduction tested project stakeholder interrelations relative to espoused cultural beliefs, shared kaitiaki responsibilities, and the desire for scientific research and multi-stakeholder communication. In the end, it forced project stakeholders to come together to iron out some differences, better realise each other's needs and obligations, and work to improve partnership to better facilitate faunal reintroductions.

Following MEIT's formal decision to bring these ecologically important insects to Maungatautari, Mana Whenua trustees reached out to the iwi whose rohe was the home of this unique cricket-like New Zealand insect. Discussion was had and verbal agreements made which lead to a tono to formalise arrangements for the reintroduction of them to Maungatautari. In the tono held 23 February 2012, Robyn Nightingale, of Raukawa, at the outset of the meeting declared, in what could be construed as an attempt to empathise and connect with donor iwi representatives, that DOC's reintroduction processes are not tono/iwi friendly. Once the discussion commenced, a representative of the donor iwi stipulated that none of the wētā would be permitted to have transmitters placed on them, stating, "if they are going to live, they are going to live" (fieldnotes, 23 Feb 2012, Pukeatua). In other words, the transmitters could do nothing to ward off a wētā's death. After a fellow iwi representative echoed the condition that no transmitter be used, citing a past instance of DOC not treating frogs to their satisfaction in the course of a study, donor iwi representatives finalised their stance, and related their desire for wētā to come to Maungatautari without transmitters or not come at all.

[12] The Mahoenui Giant Wētā, one of many wētā species in New Zealand which date back 190 million years into the late Triassic period, used to exist all over New Zealand. These insects, which resemble a large cricket in many ways (measuring 5cm to 7.5cm), are omnivorous and occupy various niches that elsewhere are occupied by small rats and mice. Mahoenui Giant Wētā were thought extinct on mainland New Zealand until their rediscovery in 1962 in dense, protective gorse habitat in the North Island's King Country region. While other, smaller species of wētā remained on Maungatautari, Mahoenui Giant Wētā, which spend most their time in the canopy, disappeared, likely falling victim to invasive Australian possums, stoats, mice and rats.

To add context, though the reintroduction involved DOC to a degree, the reintroduction was really the culmination of three years of research efforts made by Corinne Watts and others with Landcare Research[13] (fieldnotes, 8 May 2012, Cambridge). Their intention was to place a small transmitter on the back of each of the hundred specimens to be translocated. This would enable them to track and ascertain the locations of these insects on Maungatautari, determine the extent to which the group established themselves high in the canopy, conduct health checks, and compile data and inferences that could inform and improve any subsequent translocation of the species to Maungatautari. The overarching goal was to ensure high rates of survival and reproduction with any subsequent groups to be translocated. Conversely, the lack of any transmitters on the individual insects of this translocation would mean the forfeiture of any scientific data for these purposes.

Returning to the tono, Robyn assured donor iwi representatives that all involved (DOC, Landcare, MEIT, NKK and Raukawa) wanted a consensus decision on the matter and to plan how the reintroduction was to be handled (donor iwi also requested involvement throughout the specimen capture and reintroduction process). Tao Tauroa assured them that project Mana Whenua would act as kaitiaki for these taonga and would record the arrangement in a lasting written agreement enabling subsequent generations to forever observe it. With this, agreement was reached, cultural stories and personal experiences with wētā were shared, and the parties then enjoyed time together in the Southern Enclosure and returned to the Out in the Styx guesthouse for a lunch.

Before the tono took place, I was aware that a point of disagreement, intransigence over the role of transmitters in this translocation, had arisen. In a conversation with Robyn Nightingale 16 February 2012, I learnt the concern was a cultural one. She related that people from the donor iwi, and even from her own hapū, were concerned for the mauri of the insects to be translocated, explaining that 'mauri' refers to the life-force in all things. In the objector's minds the presence of a transmitter would be an affront to the creature's mauri and be an encumbrance for the them. Robyn indicated she helped initiate the translocation dialogue and had informed donor iwi representatives of the scientific merits and benefits that could be gleaned from the translocation by using transmitters, but to no avail: not even reducing the number that would carry a transmitter from one hundred to twenty was accepted.

[13] Landcare Research, also known as Manaaki Whenua, is one of a number of Crown Research Institutes (CRIs) formed in 1992 by the New Zealand Government that function as independent companies, but which are owned by and accountable to it. Roughly, the institute's goals are to manage and protect New Zealand's terrestrial ecosystems and biodiversity, contribute toward the sustainable use of land resources, mitigate greenhouse gas emissions, and enable growing industries to thrive within set environmental limits.

Robyn allowed she hoped those opposed to transmitters would, in the tono, come to see the overall benefits in their use, scientific or otherwise. Lastly, she indicated that she had previously decided to put the matter to a vote, looking for a simple majority to approve the use of the transmitters, but then was convinced by Tao Tauroa to work toward a consensus decision.

In trying to understand the situation and the concept of mauri better, I informed Robyn that in reading about mauri I learnt that when a flax weaver used material, they did so bearing in mind that the material should be used in a manner befitting its mauri, such that the material's use enhances the material itself (see Mihinui 2002). I wondered aloud whether the use of transmitters, in the context of a biodiversity promoting translocation would fit this requirement as their use would enhance the species through improved future translocations and ultimately produce a thriving Mahoenui Giant Wētā population on Maungatautari. Robyn agreed that using transmitters would indeed better the species as it would improve its future, but did not overtly agree or disagree with my argument.

Four days after the tono, 27 February 2012, Tao Tauroa reported the results of the tono at MEIT's board meeting, explaining donor iwi objections to the use of transmitters. Kevin Collins, representing EW/WRC, allowed he did not understand these objections, and with Matt Cook of DOC, explained their organisations would in the future not commit funding to any translocation that barred transmitter use or prevented the collection of scientific data. Though one of them apologised to all present for their organisation's past mistake vis-à-vis the frog incident (as it had affected the current situation), neither seemed to accept Tauroa's explanations of donor iwi's objections. However, in notes for the meeting, I quizzically recorded that Tauroa, in his explanations, never used the word 'mauri' nor explained its meaning or associated cultural notions relative to the situation.

Afterward I asked Tao Tauroa his reasons for not divulging and explaining relevant cultural notions behind donor iwi objections to those present at the Trust meeting. Whilst the Trust board members may not have readily absorbed all he could tell them, at least, I posited, he could have bred familiarity with the core cultural concepts behind their objection or contextualised it and perhaps eased tensions and built a foundation for acceptance or the development of better practices and expectations among stakeholders. Tauroa confirmed the concern donors held was cultural in nature and that it was their right and privilege to raise this concern when or if they saw fit to do so. He concluded that because of this, and because the objection was culturally bound, divulging it in the Trust meeting would dishonour the Mana Whenua–donor iwi tono relationship.

In the end, the balance of MEIT stakeholders followed Mana Whenua's lead and followed donor iwi wishes, and despite some last minute logistical and situational problems[14], the reintroduction took place 13, 14, and 15 April 2012. Even a last minute donor iwi request to refrain from measuring each specimen, though disliked by researchers, was in the end also honoured. The reintroduction tested relations between the involved groups and stakeholders to be sure, but in the end seemed to fuel a desire to better plan reintroductions through better and early consultation. In the Trust's 28 May 2012 board meeting, the chair of the biodiversity sub-committee announced that the sub-committee's meetings would no longer be held in the morning, but in the afternoon. This change, he announced, would permit Robyn Nightingale to regularly attend. It was their intention, he indicated, to facilitate improved communication between Mana Whenua and other MEIT stakeholders relative to reintroductions and other matters, such as the disposition of carcasses of deceased reintroduced fauna, and generally better partner with Mana Whenua to observe their tikanga.

Deconstructing Intransigence

The "mauri versus transmitters" situation examined in this sub-section constitutes a navigation of outwardly incompatible concepts, beliefs, values, and goals subscribed to by those identifying from a particular sociocultural background amongst the involved parties and project stakeholders, and perhaps constitutes a demonstration of cultural distinctiveness. The "mauri" side stressed a "cause no harm" ethic relative to a metaphysical belief and the need to protect the "natural world" from an "unnatural one": the mauri of wētā could be harmed or affected by "unnatural" transmitters, which also could, in the eyes of some, hinder them. Protecting them from these harms was paramount to the goal of establishing another population of them, or gathering knowledge that could help replicate this endeavour in the future. In proclaiming such a stance, donor iwi asserted and demonstrated their cultural rights and distinctiveness. In the case of MEIT Mana Whenua, they, like others in the Trust and effort— adjoining landowners, Landcare Research and DOC— both wanted these particular wētā to come to Maungatautari and for transmitter data to be gleaned from the translocation. However, they also understood the cultural needs and position of donor iwi. In sharing a similar sociocultural background, they also recognised a shared indigenous status with

[14] The reintroduction was originally to be a one day event. Undisclosed factors delayed a key group's arrival, and they needed to be a part of certain procedures and tasks. The DOC office intended to house the wētā overnight was fumigated, making the location unsuitable. Thus, alternate last-minute lodging for the wētā needed to be arranged. The delays meant more than one day was needed to collect sufficient numbers, determine their sex, transport them to Maungatautari, and release them in the Southern Enclosure.

attendant cultural notions and values, including adherence to tono commitments. Through the tono, they were honour-bound to adhere to, and promote, the wishes of the donor iwi group.

A number of people from the other stakeholder groups, and those involved with research connected to the translocation, wanted transmitters to be used. They wanted the data they would produce. They anticipated the data would help them determine the success of this initial translocation and provide guidance to ensure successful subsequent translocations. The transmitters, they reminded everyone, were small, unobtrusive, and would eventually fall off of the wētā. Since the MEIT project was ostensibly about producing successful biodiversity conservation, they reasonably concluded that because their scientific aims were to produce or ensure widely desired biodiversity conservation outcomes, their research methods and goals would be accepted and implemented. Still, some in these stakeholder and interest groups wanted scientifically desirable aims to be achieved in the endeavour, but yet wanted the translocation to occur no matter what, even if this meant without transmitters.

The various stances participants took in the matter were expressed as a suite of interconnected discourses competing against another. One stressed the need to protect these giant wētā and their mauri, and to adhere to iwi tikanga and beliefs, respecting their rights. The other suite asserted the value of, and absolute need for, undoubtedly Western ways of gaining knowledge and encouraging the health and longevity of a species. That the clash of these competing discourses evidenced a lack of inter-cultural understanding amongst some of those involved— or at least an inability to, in the heat of the moment, appreciate the opposing point of view with its attendant cultural beliefs and needs— and created opportunities for dialogue and the development of greater inter-cultural understanding, is attested by subsequent actions and conversations relative to the problematic reintroduction. In a conversation with Landcare Research's Corinne Watts, 8 May 2012, and in the report she presented that day to the biodiversity sub-committee, she confirmed that no real scientific data was being gathered from the reintroduction, stressing the resultant loss of publishable data, whilst labelling the donor iwi's objection as nothing more than an reaction to the frog incident. She made no acknowledgment of 'mauri' or any cultural notion invoked by iwi, or of any right held by iwi relative to the animals of the translocation. Of course, her purpose in the event, as a researcher, was to produce data in connection with the translocation. This was devastatingly inhibited by the culturally-based requirements imposed on the translocation which was otherwise well planned, in detail, at great effort.

On 10 July 2012, at a special biodiversity sub-committee meeting held in Pukeatua, stakeholders discussed the translocation, the cultural issues related to problems experienced with it, and where they each stood on the matter for future translocations. Robyn Nightingale, again a Māori MEIT trustee for Raukawa, provided everyone with a document outlining the needs Mana Whenua have relative to taonga, tikanga and translocations. She stressed the need for Mana Whenua to be involved at every stage of the translocation process, especially at the very beginning, the proposal stage. She reminded them that Māori have long memories. That is, they maintain wide and long-held relationships with other iwi and hapū, and thus they need to be involved at the outset to avoid offending one iwi group or another. In this way, she explained, they could keep all donor and faunal sources available, an imperative for MEIT to promote genetically diverse populations on Maungatautari. Moreover, she affirmed, such involvement in planning, consulting and logistics is vital to ensure tikanga requirements are addressed. She discussed Mana Whenua's role as kaitiaki not only for their own taonga, but for donor iwi's taonga now on Maungatautari and how it related to post-release species' management plans inclusive of Māori and their tikanga. She suggested that their needs and roles be included in the memorandums of understanding created for project translocations, along with the cultural stories of the species.

At this juncture, John Innes, of Landcare Research, spoke up, asking if the primary concern was not the welfare of the species. Robyn replied that this was the case. Thereafter a somewhat tense exchange commenced between them in front of all present. Essentially, John wanted to know who informed iwi that the placement of transmitters on the backs of the wētā would harm them. He reiterated that his team derived no scientific data from the translocation, and that there was no scientific evidence to conclude transmitters harmed wētā, and thus he wanted provisions in future translocation MoUs to address researcher's needs. Robyn admitted that in this instance MEIT and Landcare Research were sandwiched between donor iwi group wishes and MEIT's Mana Whenua obligations to honour them and that politics was a factor. She then explained the views of the donor iwi group: transmitters were considered unnatural, and the insects would not need to be tracked given they would be on Maungatautari, a safe place. At this, John, a Taranaki-raised New Zealander and biodiversity scientist, related he would be interested in learning more about tikanga for future translocations. John later confirmed to me that despite the use of an alternate method to gather data on the wētā (ink tracking card tunnels with peanut butter bait, lodged in trees), no significant data emerged, and to that time, no evidence existed that any specimens survived at all. Having related this, he iterated the research team did respect the donor iwi's wishes. After

affirming Landcare Research generally respected all such iwi concerns, he concluded "it would be nice if the source iwi gave smart regard to research concerns also" (John Innes, personal communication, 23 Apr. 2014).

The Mahoenui Giant Wētā translocation presented the Trust and its stakeholders with yet another opportunity to re-orientate their relationship. They were confronted with culturally-derived notions and values, and the goals they produced, which then each group intently pursued. For Mana Whenua, notions of honouring the tono relationship and its responsibilities, along with other culturally powerful notions such as mauri, and by extension, respecting Tāne-mahuta, atua of the forests and birds, meant they needed to pursue donor iwi wishes and ensure they were kept. Though they understood the importance of gleaning scientific data, and how doing so would help the translocation and the wētā, and likely help future wētā translocations and thereby the entire species, Mana Whenua in this case prioritised obtaining wētā and abiding by donor iwi wishes/cultural concerns and their indigenous rights over all else. Many in the Trust and its stakeholders and community, not from a Māori sociocultural background, wanted both the translocation to occur and critical scientific data to be produced from it, but were nonetheless committed to the Trust multi-stakeholder partnership and lawfully required under the RMA 1991 to observe the relationship Māori have, through their culture and tikanga, to ancestral lands, sacred sites, water, and other taonga, and their rights related to kaitiakitanga (c.f. RMA 1991, 6.e, 7).

It is evident key players in the incident understood that many things could have been handled differently and better. With this recognition, they set about making adjustments that were calculated to produce better and earlier conversations with regard to inter-cultural tensions and needs between stakeholders: a meeting schedule change to permit Robyn Nightingale's attendance is one; the determination to produce MoUs which addressed Māori cultural needs and concepts as well as research and scientific goals and aims is another. Key players and stakeholders groups through the experience learnt more precisely of the cultural needs of each other and began to more deeply discuss ways that both sets of needs could, in the future, be met. Mana Whenua did however learn anew the power they possessed relative to species translocations, whether directly in formulating tono arrangements for fauna, or indirectly through honouring donor iwi wishes concerning that fauna. Indeed, the most tangible and visible sign of success for Maungatautari has been the reintroduction of species. Though Maungatautari is otherwise ready to receive endangered biota, Mana Whenua have often been a key gatekeeper in the process. In this reintroduction, a cultural issue, based on a cultural belief many Mana Whenua share, but lodged not by them, but by donor iwi, stood in

direct opposition to the culturally-linked and important needs of certain other stakeholders and eventually outcompeted those needs. One stakeholder group acquiesced to another to permit the translocation to occur.

However, in other instances in the project, the stakeholders did find common ground and solutions that respected cultural beliefs, values and notions that surfaced between the stakeholders. At a 2 September 2010 biodiversity sub-committee meeting, the project's ecologist, Chris Smuts-Kennedy announced that a recently deceased Duvacel's Gecko was discovered on Maungatautari. As the species was thought extinct on Maungatautari, he informed all present that a number of survey boxes were prepared to affix to a number of trees on the maunga in order to ascertain if more were present. A few of the Mana Whenua representatives objected to the planned use of nails to secure the boxes to trees, explaining nails were a foreign thing that did not belong in the natural forest or in the trees. Existing tracking card lines in the bush were affixed using nails and they wanted no more of it. They suggested securing the boxes with flax. Chris considered and then dismissed the idea, as flax, he explained, would not be secure and permanent enough for their purposes. He proposed using tannalised, treated wood stakes. Tao Tauroa rejected this idea, indicating treated wood stakes were unnatural, and said untreated stakes would be acceptable. He then related that the concern was protecting the mauri of the forest. Thereafter, an exchange followed, wherein Chris, through a number of questions to Tao, came to understand that Mana Whenua had not changed their view of 'mauri' relative to the forest and biota, and were in a better position in the Trust and project to assert their cultural needs. Mana Whenua acknowledged that foreign material had been used, but they had not thought of it before, and considered the project to be a learning experience. After Karaitiana Tamatea suggested they consult with certain Māori individuals about using indigenous ways and materials from the forest, a brainstorming discussion ensued, and kareao or supplejack (*Ripogonum scandens)*, a hardy, flexible native vine, emerged as the agreed material to affix the boxes to the trees.

A factor that needs to be noted in the ways the wētā and survey box incidents played out is the complement of people in them, the participants. In the former, more individuals were involved that were not Māori and were members of stakeholder or funder groups that have specific, institutionally-linked agendas and work goals to pursue. In the latter, these institutional stakeholders and interested parties were not present and the Pakeha–Maori ratio was close to fifty percent. Most participants in the former, but not all, are life-long New Zealanders, whilst in the latter all are lifelong New Zealanders. In the former, those more ardently pursuing scientific goals (for practical research and conservation purposes) happened

to be most distantly connected to the project. They were connected to research institutions and schools. They were not volunteers or members of the immediate surrounding community. They were not of the Mana Whenua stakeholder group, nor the adjoining landowner-farmer group, nor even with DOC, WDC or EW/WRC. Moreover, donor iwi, exerting their cultural ideals and beliefs on others through the project's Mana Whenua stakeholder group, were also far removed from the Trust and its core stakeholder sphere. Though we cannot say the researchers or the donor iwi were unsympathetic to requests of a cultural nature from those of another sociocultural background, they clearly had aims to pursue and were the farthest removed from the partnership. In the survey box incident, all involved were volunteers, Mana Whenua, landowners, and community members. They comprised the core partnership of the Trust and they, as part of the project's community, have more direct relationships to one another and the project, and the potential to more regularly interact with one another. Thus, they are incentivised to, and able to in various project committees and venues, listen and partner with one another, producing breathing room to work out inter-cultural differences.

The scientists in the wētā relocation, however, did offer to reduce transmitter usage to only twenty specimens of the one hundred being reintroduced. This constituted a significant concession on their part, and in their minds, was conciliatory enough to permit the translocation to occur and yet still produce some data for them. Given no transmitters were permitted by donor iwi and Mana Whenua, and that significant data was not gleaned from the translocation as a result, scientists, who had devoted a great deal of time, research and thought to the endeavour, were understandably upset and disappointed. Though they signalled in the biodiversity meeting that they would like to learn more about tikanga, to better understand it and help future translocations be more productive for all involved, their remote position vis-à-vis the project— not being of a stakeholder group— means that though they have their own and other conservation incentives associated with project translocations, their voice in the project's partnership is not given as much consideration as is accorded to Mana Whenua or other stakeholders. Consequently, learning Māori tikanga may only get them so far. However, such learning, John recognised, could help him and others confront potential issues earlier in the translocation process and perhaps bring about compromises that can accomplish each party's needs, cultural or otherwise. Importantly, as Tao Tauroa intimated, not all situations are appropriate to discuss, share or facilitate inter-cultural understanding or appreciation. Such occasions, in the context of a large and complicated project and stakeholder milieu, need to be pre-planned and conducted with the input of all those to be involved. If anything was learnt from the giant wētā translocation, it was that

dialogue between all the groups or parties that could or would be involved needed to occur far more early, indeed, at the outset, and that in these meetings, the cultural beliefs, values and goals of all involved, needed to be properly aired and carefully considered to ascertain their potential impact on the project and the task at hand.

CHAPTER VII

PEOPLE IN THE PROJECT

One of the primary objectives of this research is to examine the role of culture in the MEIT project and present a sketch of those engaged in it. In order to properly accomplish this objective a profile is needed of the sociocultural backgrounds of those who participate in the MEIT project as stakeholders and volunteers, along with the narratives and life situations associated with their involvement. Consequently, this chapter examines a number of individuals and couples who have been engaged in the project either as a stakeholder and/or as a volunteer. It presents what they said about themselves and their life in connection with New Zealand's environment. It canvasses some of their family history relative to resettling in New Zealand, and/or their connections to land. It looks at some of their interests and hobbies and their contributions to the MEIT project, which speaks to the stage of life they are in and how participation in the project has affected their life. Further, it includes the expressions and narratives they provided in connection to a sociocultural identity they subscribe to, and in relation to their participation in the MEIT project. Importantly, these profiles contextualise and situate the various views and statements these participants shared on a number of topics— the project, its governance, stakeholder partnership, conservation, and various terms and concepts— which are presented in chapter eight. Lastly, a concluding section discusses the material and distils the relevant sociocultural similarities and differences that exist among project participants.

With a focus on 'stakeholders' and 'volunteers', these labels or terms need to first be qualified. A 'stakeholder' again denotes those who have a recognised and concrete stake in the MEIT project and/or Maungatautari. This stake or connection can be through hapū/iwi links, financial or property interests in the project or mountain, and/or a regulatory/statutory responsibility pursuant to the mountain or the scenic reserve there. 'Volunteer' refers to a protean group of people, numbered at least in the hundreds, who have provided in some way, shape, or form, or continue to provide, labour, time and/or expertise to the project without remuneration. There is not enough room here to convey all the roles in which people have helped the project, but most can fit into a few categories. Trust officers, such as the board's trustees, are all volunteers who give significant time and means to attend meetings, and more still, outside of meetings. Mountain volunteers are those who traverse Maungatautari or one of its sub-enclosures at scheduled intervals as part of pest monitoring or eradication efforts.

Many others have at one time or another fulfilled crucial roles, from office staff positions to on-call fence damage/breach response teams, to roles at special events, whether they be consultative meetings, volunteer appreciation events, or species reintroductions. A number serve on any one of several subcommittees. Others have undertaken special administrative roles. Some have provided professional advice, legal counsel, or labour relative to marketing, fundraising, land/property issues, public relations, staffing, management and more. Some have undertaken research on Maungatautari vis-à-vis animals and plants of concern to the project or biodiversity conservation in general. Some have helped with educational and/or visitor/tourist programmes. Others have regularly removed weeds and cared for indigenous biota. Lastly, some are landowners who have provided their time assisting project volunteers and staff in checking/cleaning/repairing components of the fence system, or in solving access and other field-related problems.

A deliberate effort was made to interview a wide range of individuals to represent the array of volunteer work areas, as well as stakeholders, culminating in sixty-seven semi-structured recorded interviews and a handful of unrecorded interviews. Recorded interview participants include the Wallaces as the project was their brainchild, current and former trustees, local Māori hapū members, marae representatives and landowners, adjoining landowner farmers, frequent and intermittent project volunteers, office volunteers, subcommittee members, former volunteers, politicians and/or public servants, and individuals from the wider community in positions that impact the project. A majority of these individuals indicated on consent forms that they either wanted me to identify them or had no issue with me identifying them in publication. A few, however, indicated they wished to not be identified. Accordingly, details which would identify them are removed and they are given pseudonyms. A secondary data source utilised here are the consensual casual conversations had with people in the community and project as I volunteered in the MEIT project. Due to limited space, participants' expressions and views are condensed and paraphrased. However, some direct interview excerpts are presented which contain key information or compelling views that are indispensable to the chapter's purpose.

The participant data included in this chapter and the one to follow were not randomly selected. Rather, a suite of requirements or factors produced the sampling strategy I employed. In deciding whose data would be included, I felt it important to include participants that occupied central roles in the project as well as those in the various other positions connected with the project. Likewise, I felt it essential to include the data and voice of participants regardless of gender, and newer and well as more experienced project

volunteers and participants representing any and all sociocultural background, but especially those of New Zealand's core founding peoples. I also decided to include the views of participants who reside near to Maungatautari in the local and rural communities around it, as well as further away, including Tirau, Te Awamutu and Matangi, and even in communities in and around Hamilton or beyond it to the north. After transcribing interviews, I reviewed them along with notes I made during interviews. I then selected data for inclusion based on the intent to as succinctly as possible represent the wide array of views and thoughts of all participants in relation to the categories in which they connect to the mountain and/or the project.

MEIT Volunteers, Project Perspectives

Tony and Carley Rolley

Official participant observation began 22 January 2010 with a meeting between me and Tony Rolley, then the Trust's operations manager. Feeling it wise to first introduce myself to him and register as a volunteer as I commenced participant observation, I prearranged the meeting to personally discuss with him my research aims and what it was I was actually going to be doing. It was in this conversation that I discovered Tony himself was a volunteer. He and a few other volunteers had stepped up as the project's interim management team when the CEO and office staff team exited in October 2009. As operations manager, daily project operations were his responsibility. Before this role, however, Tony had volunteered in many time intensive project roles, particularly as landowner liaison, a fenceline monitor, and monitoring line track developer. Carley, his wife, also had volunteered in MEIT's office, helping where needed.

In a 17 June 2011 interview I learnt a number of things about them. Both Tony and Carley accepted being labelled as, in their words, Pākehā New Zealanders[1]. They were both, as they conveyed it, near and/or just over what they considered to be New Zealand's typical retirement age of sixty-five. Carley related that she is a second generation New Zealander, with grandparents who came from Australia and the United Kingdom. Tony's knowledge of his family history was less concrete. His father came from England in the 1920s, whilst his mother came from a New Zealand family long established in the Waikato.

[1] In interviews I found this label being employed by a number of participants who recognised that Tangata Whenua sometimes accepted for themselves the label of 'New Zealander' as they are the island nation's indigenous people. Thus, with the added qualifier of 'Pākehā', a distinction is made that sets them apart from Māori, but which permits both groups to be labeled as New Zealanders.

Most of their lives had been spent in the Waikato. Both Carley and Tony had been raised on dairy farms in the region. Growing up on farms, their childhoods were structured around the work needed to run it, and involved a great deal of time spent outdoors. On rare occasions they and their families did get time away from the farm. Typically, these were trips to the beach. As a couple, they have owned a small one-hundred cow dairy farm in the Waikato, with deer, sheep and goats kept for agricultural research.

Other pursuits feature in their lives. Tony has been a circuit car driver and homebuilder/carpenter. Carley has taught at high school and the Waikato Institute of Technology. In their married life, they have tramped/hiked a great deal together all over New Zealand— including the famed Milford Track. Tellingly, most of their tramping occurred before involvement with MEIT. Incidentally, to condition themselves for Milford, they frequently traversed Maungatautari. On one such occasion, years before MEIT began, they noted its condition:

> **Carley:** …we'd be walking over Maungatautari Mountain as part of our training…
> **Author:** …your training, getting ready to do [Milford]?
> **Carley:** Yeah, and I remember us saying, there's just no birds, there's no birdlife here like there used to be…
> **Tony:** …well…you could smell goats, …Maungatautari was a…sad state. [recorded interview, 17 Jun. 2011, Matangi]

When they bought the lifestyle block they now live on, it was covered with gorse and blackberry; two invasive species that grow prolifically in New Zealand. Before they started to build their home on the property Tony and Carley began the effort to clear the property of its invasive plants. In a steep gully just beyond their driveway, they began to plant native plants and trees. The thriving native plants now there, particularly flax, and the native bird activity it attracts, is a source of pleasure for them. As their own miniature eco-project, it became one of their primary hobbies. They also regularly spend time with and help family. They have often provided day-care for a grandson. Tony has enjoyed tinkering with and collecting sporty cars, and continues to do so, while they both enjoy taking them out for scenic drives.

At one point in our conversation, Tony related how he first came across the MEIT project. In relating the incident to me, he and Carley also highlighted some of their common life experience and observations about New Zealand's environment and biota.

> **Tony:** Well I was, yesterday, back in the same spot as I was ten years ago when I first came across the Maungatautari project because it was the…DOC [promotional] tent [at

> the Waikato Fieldays]…and… I looked at [the MEIT concept] and thought, this was the first I'd heard of it, you know, fencing [Maungatautari], and the concept…immediately appealed to me because as a young person we lived next to the bush at Te Pahu, on the lower slopes of [Mt.] Pirongia. …we used to go into the bush with mum and dad because …we would get lost. In our young days the bush still had considerable…native birdlife, active…all the time. It was constant, it was wonderful and even though I was young it somehow stuck with me because…I remember hearing them, the beautiful sounds… …of course [I] grew up and went through life and 'tra-la-la', never thought about it much, but the minute you go back in the bush suddenly this all comes home to you again. …that's what Carley was saying, you go back into the bush in recent times and hello, no sound. And it was the same at Pirongia. Same at Maungatautari. Same at Kakapuka.
> **Carley:** Same at Te Aroha…
> **Tony:** There was no [noise]…
> **Carley:** …Waikato, as a farming area, …never heard a tui or saw one, for many, many years. We certainly didn't. You had to go somewhere else to see them. So, in our lifetime we've seen…that degradation…

A moment later in the conversation, after Carley generally described the degradation and the decline of native birdlife, Tony concurred with her point, and continued the arc of the conversation:

> **Tony:** …for me [the MEIT project] was a natural [i.e. logical] because here was an opportunity to have a crack at restoring some of this…and I still feel that way…
> **Carley:** …and it's happened! That's the wonderful thing, we've got tuis in our garden now.
> **Tony:** Well, with the efforts that have been made…many others have become more aware in recent years, a lot of it the last ten to fifteen years, give or take a little, …but it's making a difference, because here, the first six years [at our home], we never saw a tui. But last spring, on trees we put in[our gully], I had up to seventeen on a tree at one time when they were in bloom. Oh, the transformation is magic, you know. Absolutely magic.

Bill and Sue Garland

The Garlands are adjoining landowner farmers and boast the longest portion of MEIT's fence (9km) for any individually-owned adjoining property. Their property lies high up in the Kairangi Valley, not far from the Leamington suburb of Cambridge. A landscape and vegetable garden, that surrounds their home, was being tended to by Sue when I arrived for our interview. Their large sheep and cattle farm, which covers 420ha of undulating, high pastureland on Maungatautari's northeast slopes, affords sweeping views over the district.

I began the interview first with Bill, and later, after she had prepared some lunch, Sue joined us and told me a little about herself. Her life, she said, has always revolved around farming and gardening. She explained that she is a fourth generation Kiwi and that she grew up in Cambridge on her family's farm. Her great, great grandfather, E.B. Walker, came over to New Zealand in the 1880s from Cornwall, England. He was the first foreign farmer on the north side of the maunga, where he leased land from local Māori. This, she pointed out, places her family in the area ahead of Bill's ancestors.

Bill's great grandparents came to New Zealand from the U.K. about the same time. His great grandfather settled in Cambridge, and was both a butcher and a land investor of sorts, buying and selling land. His grandfather in 1943 bought land covered in scrub bush and bracken fern in the Kairangi area, which was formerly cultivated by Māori. According to a history of the area and the stories his family passed down, local Māori used land around the Kairangi and Maungatautari to produce cherries, potatoes, corn, wheat, and kumara. A portion of his farm was first used by his grandfather and three brothers for dairy herds, once they cleared it of scrub bush and 4ha of forest. Twice he and Sue have purchased adjoining property, growing their farm to 420ha. Though most of their land is devoted to cattle and sheep grazing, 60ha is currently used for other purposes. Twenty hectares are used for productive forestry, intermixed with native trees like kauri, rimu and totara. Forty hectares of native bush are protected by QEII covenant, of which 35ha is protected by Xcluder fencing.

Bill feels he got his views toward land and the resources on it, which influences the decisions and actions he takes toward them, from his wider family. In one example he provided, his father instructed him to not use a certain area of the farm, but rather let it regenerate back into bush. This occurred, he said, at a time when farmers throughout the region were earnestly working to get every bit of land they owned into pasture. The section of land in question also had natural springs, and his father told him water would one day be quite valuable. His father also explained that the land was just too steep for any practical long term use as pasture. To enforce his wishes, and impress upon his Bill that this area of land was never again to be cleared, his father made Bill and his brother Paul fence it off. Later it was one of the first blocks (number eleven) to be put under QEII covenant. From this and other experiences, Bill says he learnt his relationship with the land:

> I think part of it is your upbringing…and part of it is just, we're, we're really connected to the land… …it's interesting to me that…we're not a lot different to Māori in that regard…, that our relationship is with the land…and so, if…you think about it in those terms and…you're making a living off the land…but the land as part of you, then, yeah

that drives your day-to-day decisions. [recorded interview, 20 May 2011, Kairangi]

Providing another example, he informed me that his grandfather, father, uncles and a cousin had variously sold land with standing bush on it to WDC, which amounted collectively to three hundred and fifty acres. Some, though not all of that land, could have been cleared and reasonably well utilised on their farms. They and others who did likewise, he said, recognised the value of the bush in one way or another. Much of that land now, he said with a smile, is protected behind the MEIT project fence.

Over his life, Bill has had varied experiences with New Zealand's natural environments. Work on his dad's farm often brought him in contact with the bush: at the rear of paddocks no fence was installed, they just gave way to Maungatautari's forest bush. Consequently, cattle could, and often would, wander into its forest. Often Bill had to wander and explore the forest to retrieve their cattle. This, he said, enabled him to spend lots of time there and learn about the plants and animals there. In the 1980s he joined a tramping club. With a mind to help fellow club members enjoy Maungatautari's interior he developed a number of accessible tracks into the forest. Matamata council, which at that time had jurisdiction over Maungatautari, took note of his efforts. He accepted their task of maintaining these tracks for ten years.

When Bill and Sue bought the additional portion farmland with the home they presently use, they noticed the previous owner had not planted any trees— and this did not necessarily surprise them. The exigencies of making a profit meant many a farmer has had to focus on growing as much grass as possible. The expense of trees and/or the grass-inhibiting shade they produce have been considered untenable by many. Bill and Sue, however, wanted trees on their farm, because they had been raised on farms which had "had lots and lots of trees" (recorded interview, 20 May, Kairangi). They set about planting trees all over the property, which he recalled, made them think farther ahead in terms of farming efficiency. They decided to emphasise long term over short term goals. Next year's profit was not going to be at the expense of what the farm could look like in twenty or thirty years' time. Taking it a step further, they didn't just plant non-native aesthetically appealing or fruit bearing trees. A large section was planted with native trees for a long-term timber yield. In their property's protected and water catchment areas, they planted native trees and ferns, intent on fostering native forest and supporting kererū and native bats.

In his life there have been various engagements which have kept Bill connected to the community and engaged in activities that have kept him close to environmental concerns and conservation. Both he and Sue grew up as members of the Anglican Church. All of their ancestors, they said, were of this faith. In their adult lives, however, he admitted that they probably don't attend as much as they should. Even so, he added that they hold dear the religious values they learnt. Though his farm does keep him busy, Bill has regularly engaged in other organisations and efforts that have required his time and experience. For thirteen years he served on the Federated Farmers board, some time on the Animal Health board, was for nine years director of a natural trust and later its chair, and chair for the Farm Environment Awards board for nine years. Collectively, these activities enabled him to learn what other farmers around the country were doing. He saw many placing property under QEII covenant, undertaking pest removal programmes, and doing their level best to mitigate negative impacts of farming.

It is easy to conclude a number of things about Bill by just spending a little time talking with him. He is fairly easy going. He's affable and open. He tries to view things from many angles or viewpoints. He loves New Zealand. What he likes most about New Zealand as a place is the openness it has for people to access the coasts, beaches, waterways and lakes. He enjoys the freedoms it has to hunt and fish. In relation to New Zealand's society, he enjoys what he describes as its jovial affinity for spirited competition. He says he has a respect for Māori and their ways and was taught this by his father.

He considers the term 'Pākehā' to be a slang word, with some negativity attached to it. As such, he tries to not use it. He explained to me that it is no longer accurate and far from being all-inclusive for New Zealanders who are not of Māori descent. He labels himself as nothing more than a New Zealander who is a farmer. In relation to his role in MEIT, he has given much of his time: Bill has served as a founding trustee for MEIT, representing adjoining landowner farmers. He has also served on some of the Trust's subcommittees and on the special governance and restructuring committee. When I asked him about why he so quickly provided his support to the budding MEIT project, he provided family stories, including those provided above, as justification. He then added what conservation of native bush and the project has done for him and/or New Zealand:

> …along the way we learnt a little bit about our bush. ...[the] QEII [Trust] talked to some [local schools], …allowing [them] to adopt the first covenant…for educational purposes, and…they attached a science advisor to the bush and to the school and he organised people, specialists in biodiversity, different fields, and ferns and…snails, all sorts of

> things, and they came out and…talked to the kids along with all the parents [on] what was in our bush. So that was a pretty…important part of…the development of [the] thing, and our valuing the native bush. But as part of that we learnt some things about what was in there that we would never have known. We found that there was kōkako in there in the early [19]80s. …they were the last kōkako on Maungatautari. We found there was mistletoe at the top of it, and that's the only mistletoe around Maungatautari. …there was a [former] Māori village in the middle of it which the children found, and they found a cave where Māori stored food and we got people from DOC to have a look at the site and they identified quite an extensive village and hut sites around it, …so not only was it significant in terms of its biodiversity, it had some historical value as well, cultural value. [recorded interview, 20 May 11, Kairangi]

Ally Tairi

Ally Tairi and I spoke on many occasions. Most of these conversations took place in Cambridge at or near the Trust's offices. It took some time, but Ally eventually came to trust me to the degree that we became friends and I came to consider her a key informant. Aside from our various conversations, I had the opportunity to have three recorded interviews with her. Ally has for years been employed as the Trust's volunteer coordinator. This title and role, however, obscures all the volunteer work she had done for the Trust and her whanau, hapū and iwi, relative to the project. In our interviews on 10 October 2011, and 16 and 17 November 2011, she identified herself to be Waikato Tainui Māori. Māori, she said, is the term or label she would use for her culture, which in her view is the culture shared by all the indigenous tribes in New Zealand. In one part of our exchange she related her view of culture amongst Māori:

> **Ally:** …[it's] what's most precious to you: your values. That's what it means to me, you know?
> **Author:** so when you say Māori, you, for your culture, you see a connection, I am guessing then, to all other tribes in New Zealand?
> **Ally:** Yeah, and that's why I say I think it's (i.e. the name for their culture) 'Māori', because it doesn't matter which tribe you come from, there is still some core things that are fundamental to all Māori. So we are still able to interact, once we find out where we are from… [recorded interview, 10 Oct. 2011, Cambridge]

Soon thereafter, I endeavoured to contrast her culture and the name she would apply to it, with nationality. As I attempted to frame a question, positing that her passport indicates she is a New Zealander, I received this correction: "No, my nationality is New Zealand Māori" (recorded interview, 10 October 2011, Cambridge). She does not speak Te Reo Māori, though she knows others who have later in life picked it up. Reiterating that New Zealand

society has both Māori and Pake (an idiomatic term she used for Pākehā) culture, she emphasised that there is a difference between being culturally Māori and being genetically Māori. Because of this, she reasoned that "people can choose which culture they identify with most" (fieldnotes, 17 November 2011, Cambridge). In the context of our discussion I took this to mean that New Zealanders, in her view, can choose which sociocultural group they identify with most and live its culture as they please. Even so, she allowed that many who are otherwise 'culturally' Māori have Pākehā ancestors, adding that they do acknowledge Pākehā culture and heritage when they speak English and interact in a largely Pākehā world.

Ally was born and lived some years in Maungatautari Village, not far from Karapiro. She attended its small local school, and later, attended school in Cambridge. Her family at one time lived in Wellington, thus she attended some school there also. When I asked whether Maungatautari Marae was her marae and whether the area around it was her rohe, she nodded yes, but quickly added that everyone in Tainui affiliates to, or has family connections with, each and every one of Tainui's sixty-eight marae. She also explained that Maungatautari Marae could be what some label her principal marae, adding that the practice of having to identify with a single, 'home' or 'principal' marae was a convention that came into use because of outside pressure. She elaborated on the nature of a rohe, explaining that in one sense, a rohe *is* a hapū, in that the subtribe and its rohe are inextricably intertwined. Ally also shared that she enjoys, and makes it a point to, maintain her connections with her marae and whanau, but allowed that not all individuals in Tainui do so.

Ally was 'brought up' on the marae. This means that in her young life, everything revolved around whanau, hapū, and what occurred on the marae. During these years her life was heavily influenced by experiences there. She attended Sunday school there as a child, and with other kids, played and hung around its halls while parents participated in hui or tangi. When older, she participated in hui herself and/or volunteered on the marae to help feed and care for others visiting there. She related that her family lived close to the marae. Their home was also close to Maungatautari's forest. For her, the forest and marae were just extensions of her home. They were places to explore, learn about, enjoy and get foods like pikopiko (fern fronds) and harore (bush mushrooms). She was taught that Maungatautari is sacred overall, though it has many specific wahi tapu. She also learnt that Maungatautari Marae is the waharoa (gateway) to the maunga, and that they, Ngāti Koroki Kahukura, were the kaitiaki of it on behalf of the Kāhui ariki (Māori Royal Family). Consequently, she said that others of her whanau, like her, feel the mountain should remain as natural as possible. Permanent, metalled tracks are anathema to what the mountain truly is. Acknowledging that

it may be difficult for some individuals to experience Maungatautari without graded metal tracks, she remarked: "…a lot of our whanau [have] said, 'if [visitors/tourists] really want to go up to the maunga, then they take it how it is',…[they don't go] up there and expect to get what they get in town at, you know, the lakes and parks and walk ways" (recorded interview, 17 November 2011, Cambridge). For her and others, she concluded, it is more appropriate to experience Maungatautari on its terms, and not on human terms.

She characterised her childhood and youth, whether in the Waikato or in Wellington, as being spent in the outdoors, away from town. When in Wellington, they often were at the beach. She laments now that so many beaches, lakes and rivers are not safe to enjoy because of high bacteria levels and/or algae. In the past, she said, whanau would plan beach days for fun and for collecting kai moana (seafood), especially for those who remained at the marae. However, she lamented, this happens less and less, as many now rely on foodstuffs from supermarkets. Not only are source sites and kai moana tainted, but their lives are busier and not as centred on the marae. Ally herself puts in more than forty hours per week at her Trust job; her volunteer coordinator duties often spill into the weekend. Whanau and marae responsibilities, whether prescheduled or a last minute development, have occupied and will continue to occupy a significant proportion of her time. In addition to these roles, she mentioned that her family is a rugby league family. They love to play when they can. They also enjoy softball, a sport they picked up when in Wellington. Much of her discretionary time is devoted to her mokopuna (grandchildren), who are often at her home. She also helps them to have some of the marae experiences she did, so that they too can have some experience of being 'brought up on the marae'. She admitted, however, that despite her efforts, her mokopuna will not have the more immersive experience with marae and family relations like she had, explaining: "There are people who are brought up in the marae community and others who aren't, so you're either one or the other. And you can tell: there is a huge difference between the two, culturally…" (recorded interview, 10 October 2011, Cambridge).

As a child she experienced Christian Sunday school on the marae taught by a Presbyterian woman. She explained this did not constitute an endorsement of this denomination on the part of her marae kaumātua or the children's parents. Rather, she confided, marae members wanted someone to mind the kids while the adults were in hui. When this lady came around offering to teach the kids for free, they accepted, feeling that her instruction would not hurt the kids. The Christian teachings of Sunday school, she related, were not formally reinforced by others on the marae. Her religion is the Kingitanga and

Paimarie, just as it was for her parents, grandparents and much of the whanau. Only a few relations, now passed on, were Ratana. She cautioned me at one point to not expect Māori, as some do, to be Christian just because they give a karakia.

She became involved in the MEIT project through her whanau. As she sees it, David Wallace, who knew her family, specifically sought out the Tairi family wanting their engagement in the project to "pave the way with Māoridom" (recorded interview, 10 October 2011, Cambridge). Her brother, she said, believed both in the potential for a ground-breaking Māori–Pākehā partnership in the project and in what the project could do for Maungatautari. After her brother passed away, she got involved in MEIT, in essence taking his place. Her view of the project and its direction, as another reason for her engagement in it, is exemplified in a certain exchange we had. After discussing her comment that developed tracks on Maungatautari were not appropriate, I highlighted the quandary of working toward project ecological goals amidst the need to capture revenue from various sources, including visitors who can more easily experience it via developed and accessible tracks. Our exchange continued as follows:

> **Ally:** Yep, there's a conflict right at…the vision and mission statement, whereby the Trust was going to return species to their natural habitats. Well, you put a track like that [in] and it's quite, can be seen as hypocritical by some.
> **Author:** Yeah, having people around all the time, the birds and…
> **Ally:** Aw, no…
> **Author:** …being there…
> **Ally:** …I say, that…the track, for instance, as opposed to that statement, you're reintroducing species to a natural habitat— what's natural about metal tracks? So…this is the feedback we got, and some of the opposition early in the piece was, 'you people tell us that you're going to do [the project], and it's for the betterment of all and it's going to be natural, and then you go and put in roadways and [have this attitude:] 'we want our cake and eat it too'...' [recorded interview, 17 Nov. 2011, Cambridge]

In contrast to what she described as ever changing connections to land and vacillating views, attitudes, and ideas about land, resources and conservation among those who are not Māori, she stated: "Māori say hapū and iwi never change. Trusts, councils, committees, all of those, farm, land, Pake landowners, they all change, or are apt to change over time. Iwi and hapū never [change]. So, we will always be here, no matter what some people think" (recorded interview, 16 November 2011, Cambridge). In other words, hapū, iwi, Māori, don't have a context contingent connection to specific lands or areas that she sees in those who are not Māori. Rather, she asserts, Māori connectedness to land, her connection to land, is fixed,

as well as their views toward land, which are based on what's most precious to her: Māori cultural values and mores bound up in whakapapa.

John Younger

When I was a new volunteer in the project, I met John Younger, one of several semi-retired men who had been regularly providing a significant amount of time helping out on Rod Millar's 'go-fa' (i.e. go-for-it) task team. I interviewed him and his wife Thora 21 June and 5 July 2012. John, a dairy farmer, grew up on a ballot dairy farm awarded to his father (farms provided to returning servicemen) in the Rotorua area. On what is his second farm, he lives adjacent to Horahora road with the front facing the nearby Waikato River where it begins to form the south-eastern end of Lake Karapiro. In total, he has dairy farmed for forty-eight years in the Waikato. Both John and Thora got into the share-milking cycle which saw them first milk cows on a wage, then on contract, which over time financially prepared them to purchase their first herd. Thereafter, they bought their first farm and as part of the cycle, had others start share-milking with them.

John's adolescence was shaped by experiences associated with a frontier-like life. Because of where his father's ballot farm was located, their home was remote. To make his case, he related that they did not receive electrical power lines there until 1952. Thus, as a boy, it was his job to chop wood and feed it to the wood stove, and fuel up the generator every night so they could have electrical lighting. From life on this farm, John related he learnt everyday frugality and independence. Above all he says he learnt the importance of taking "responsibility, in your own life, to finish and complete a job when others are relying on you— that was brought through very, very strongly in our family, that you affected the whole family when you didn't do your part" (recorded interview, 21 June 2012, Horahora). Summing what he learned from these circumstances, he said

> …a lot of people don't realize it— I guess this is where we know how to live off the land, if you like. After the Second World War these people that went on returned serviceman's …ballot blocks, they were very, very poor, so you had to live off the land. And I guess that's where our parents taught us well, …because yeah, in those early farming days things were very, very hard. [recorded interview, 21 Jun. 2012, Horahora]

His dad, a former mechanic in the RNZAF, taught John the art of mechanics, a skill ever useful on their family farm. Because his dad could not afford to pay someone to take care of the farm, they did not take family summer holidays. The holidays he knew were usually a

week at a beach in the wintertime. When I asked him why he got into farming and whether he had ever made a conscious decision to do so, he explained that by the time he left high school he had already been engaged in farming and he just continued on that arc. At one point, to improve his craft, he took a six-month intensive agricultural course at Massey University. Thinking about what he has learnt and how he has farmed over his life, he noted that dairy farming had changed a great deal in his lifetime. When he and Thora were share-milking they were able to take some time away to enjoy summer holidays with their family. Often they went to their favourite spot at Mt. Maunganui at Tauranga. They would pitch tents at a relative's property and just enjoy the beach and being together.

Much of John's discretionary time is spent in community endeavours. John has enjoyed the nature-oriented and social aspects of membership in a tramping club. He and Thora are members of an indoor bowls club, and John served as its secretary once for ten years. At the time of our interview, he was chairman of the local community hall's social committee. He also is a volunteer for Fonterra[2], acting as its local contact point and adviser to the area's thirty farmers. Organised religion, especially in connection with the community, has played a role in their lives. John's mother, a one-time Sunday school teacher, ensured he built a connection with the Anglican Church. Though Thora was not exposed to church in her youth, she has since developed a relationship with it by way of her marriage to John. They have for many years been active in the local Anglican-Methodist cooperative church, which, they explained, can also be seen as an extension of the community.

When asked, John knew a good deal of his family history (a daughter-in-law interested in genealogy has done a good amount of research he admitted). He ancestors came from France and Scotland. His paternal grandfather, a Scottish bricklayer, immigrated to New Zealand to find work opportunities. Incidentally, John's uncles, experienced in the trade as well, helped to build the nearby Arapuni Dam on the Waikato River.

In talking about what name or term he would apply to the way of life and language he has learnt, or in other words his culture, John related that for him, he accepts the term 'Pākehā New Zealander' as well as 'European New Zealander'. He added that on the part of Māori the term they probably would use is 'Māori New Zealander', and then opined that they all should just be New Zealanders and be in two camps. Overall he prefers 'New Zealander' as the term to represent both his culture and his nationality.

[2] Fonterra is the largest dairy co-operative operating in New Zealand. Spanning four continents, it is owned by thousands of farmers and their families, and acts as a globally-scaled dairy producing, processing, and exporting entity.

John's views on the merits of the Maungatautari project repeatedly emerged throughout our conversation. When discussing what effect the Treaty of Waitangi may or may not have on the project and its role relative to conservation in general throughout New Zealand, he related an experience to highlight and convey the project's merit and what it means for Māori and all New Zealanders. After a morning's work on the maunga, whilst having lunch, a

> …Māori chap came out [of the bush], from the University, and he was so excited about this plant he had in his hand. …he told me all the [conditions] that plant actually treated and he said, 'here it is 500m up that track' and he said, '[the forest is] so rich and healthy, where before, the possums actually…would strip it', and so…[Māori] have access— …it's written into the agreement— …to [Maungatautari] for any [of] their…medicines... So that's the other side that people tend to lose track of with Maungatautari: the Māori are going to get a lot of benefit, but maybe not only the Māori. What other plants [are] there that [are]…going to be so important to our own physical health and well-being, that haven't [been] discovered even yet? So…there's the fact that the conservation side of this is very, very important to both sides. [recorded interview, 21 Jun. 2012, Horahora]

John started volunteering in the project after hearing about it at David Wallace's home. John was there attending a meeting to discuss ways to improve the health of the Waikato River. In the course of that meeting he learnt about Maungatautari and was invited to an open community day concerning impending fence operations. John attended and liked the idea so much he became a volunteer and sponsored 2m of project fence. His initial foray into project work entailed surveillance of the Northern Enclosure (which had just received kiwi birds and lacked electronic surveillance) two days a week on foot or by motorbike. Commenting on his participation, he related that the "great thing about it is, was the fact of the camaraderie-ship that we built up with other people we work with on the mountain" (recorded interview 21 June 2012, Horahora). Following this, he expressed his hope that the project would become stronger in the sense of increasing bird numbers and species, and in terms of tourism. He sees tourism as an important future dimension of the project. At his mention of tourism Thora chimed in, relating that in her view, it would be a travesty should the project fail and not become a tourist attraction because of all the hard work and long days people put into it. I then asked successive questions to drive down to their core underlying reason as to why they felt people should come and see it. To this query, John said that people and tourists should see it "because we go to other countries to look at their stuff because it's

different than ours, and our bush is actually quite different…our animals,…that's the same as why we go to the zoo in Australia or wildlife park, whatever, is to see something that's actually different" (recorded interview, 21 June 2012, Horahora). Additionally, for John, the project is also about restoring the bush:

> I personally don't think in our lifetime we'll see the great benefit up there— now we've got rid of all the pests and that in there, and the bush is going to come back to its natural state, but eventually our great, great, great grandchildren will. They will see the bush as it was when Captain Cook arrived here.

I asked what the benefit would be for his grandchildren to see forest as it once was, what it would do for them. He explained that future generations would benefit by knowing that this generation did something to save it. Further, he added, they would inherit a uniquely New Zealand place. Lastly, without conserved, thriving native forest, future generations would not have the chance to experience a certain peace in their life that comes from actually encountering a kiwi, kōkako or hihi, and even in their natural habitat, as opposed to mere pictures of them (recorded interview, 21 June 2012, Horahora).

Tao (Ted) Tauroa

I interviewed Tao on 5 December 2011 and 25 July 2012, and had a number of short conversations with him at Trust events and meetings. Recorded interviews took place at his Pukeatua farm home, on Maungatautari's lower southern slopes. His farm, at its rear edge, borders the project fence for 1.2km. From February 2002 he has been a project trustee representing NKK's Pohara Marae, though he is an adjoining landowner-farmer. He traces his ancestry from the Tainui waka, with his mother from Maniopoto and his father from Ngati Koroki. When meeting people from other tribes he says he introduces himself with "Maungatautari te maunga, Waikato te awa, …Tainui te waka, Ngāti Koroki te iwi, …Pohara te marae, …[the] maunga identifies us as a people" (recorded interview, 5 December 2011, Pukeatua). Through such expressions, he explained, people of other hapū and iwi become aware of his ancestry and identify common genealogical linkages, which helps them relate to one another. Use of Te Reo Māori in such circumstances is a useful skill he has acquired in adulthood, as English was his first language.

In spite of his farm work and management of Pohara's farms, Tao has provided a good deal of his discretionary time in various volunteer roles. Within MEIT he had served on its board and various committees, including the executive committee, the biodiversity

subcommittee, and the formerly operative Tangata Whenua committee. Behind the scenes project work includes time in marae meetings discussing hapū concerns and needs in relation to Maungatautari and/or the project. He also inspects and works on project fence and culverts at the back of his property, and contributes to work in the project's QEII wetland and Tuatarium (a small sub-enclosure for tuatara and takahe on land he owns adjacent to the Southern Enclosure). He has spent time representing NKK Treaty interests in OTS negotiations, which has, repeatedly, required lengthy consultation with hapū members and travel to Wellington.

Tao was raised on Maungatautari's slopes, as his father worked for a farmer on the maunga's north side, off Orepunga Road. In his youth he learnt of Maungatautari's usefulness and meaning for local hapū, and also enjoyed it as a playground. His grandparents and great grandparents, he related, "depended on Maungatautari for a food source, pigeons, tuna, you know, all the creeks coming out of Maungatautari…for kai, from the plants, the tikouka, harore, …the mushroom here, …kawakawa" (recorded interview, 5 December 2011, Pukeatua). Once when his grandfather was ill, whanau collected plants and bark for medicine from the bush to treat him. He recalls eating kererū early in life on two occasions, adding that the birds, even then, were sparingly used for special occasions. For him, the persistence of kererū on Maungatautari despite the presence of pests and predators proves local Māori have not exploited them but rather have been good stewards. Noting that kererū are presently growing in number and girth because of Maungatautari's returning health, he suggested that perhaps "one day [NKK] will have a cultural harvest, who knows?!" (recorded interview, 5 December 2011, Pukeatua). However, moments later he stated that so-called cultural harvesting for personal reasons, vis-à-vis the excuse 'my grandfather ate them so I should eat them', is not good enough. Proper cultural harvests, he says, should only be done when the time is right and with a proper level of iwi oversight, ensuring sustainability. He pointed out that local hapū members do live reasonably close to towns and markets, implying they had no need to subsist on bush fare as perhaps other group may. Local hapū, he declared, have gone without cultural harvest of forest kai for many years. He allowed that generally some could attach spiritual-religious significance to eating kererū, especially near death, though for him, it held no special significance.

In discussing his childhood, he recalled that a great deal of time was spent with whanau. Holidays were spent at the beach, playing and eating kai moana collected there. On the marae, he and whanau spent time weeding gardens, tending potato crops, and when they wanted to have fun and cool off, swimming in nearby rivers. During Christmases and other

holidays family came from the city to stay with them. With fondness he recalled these times, emphasising the time spent talking with grandparents, aunts and uncles, and cousins while sitting on big mats, eating Māori bread, tuna and boil-up (a dish of boiled native greens, potatoes and animal bones). He recalls hikoi to old kainga and pā sites, and enjoys taking visiting whanau to them, like the one on Orepunga Hill, as they often afford opportunities to relate whakapapa and identify ancestral connections to their former inhabitants.

Though he grew up on a farm, he didn't always anticipate farming as his lifelong pursuit. He does feel he is naturally inclined to farming, as he enjoys being close to the land, maintaining a direct connection with it. However, he did not go straight to it. After high school Tao studied accountancy and later qualified as an engineer at Waikato Polytech. He began work with a start-up company developing a new milking machine. When offered an overseas company position, his dad's boss offered him a share-milking position to keep Tao and his young family in the country. He and his wife Carol, with three young children at the time, decided to take the share-milking position and stay in New Zealand. After seven years, he bought the farm he now lives on and subsequently has purchased nearby land. In total he now has a little over one hundred hectares in Pukeatua. Additionally, he, his sons, and a share-milker collectively manage a number of other land blocks supporting 1300 milking cows. The decision to farm and to buy up more local land, however, was not a purely business goal:

> …my dad would work for [a certain farmer] …for eighty-five years, on that one farm, …but you know, all [that] time that he worked…— and it wasn't until I was a little older that I knew the lands that he was being paid…to work on— was actually lands confiscated [from] our people— …it was the oppressed working for the oppressor…and that made me more determined to come home and say, 'well, actually we should be in charge of our own lands, that we should try and buy back the lands', because I knew that we wouldn't get the lands any other way…but ultimately…that was the decision that made me…stay here. It was really that. …we aren't a big iwi, really, …three and a half thousand members, but we own, our tribe once owned…a huge part…of this Waikato basin, …from…Arapuni right through to Hamilton. Our northernmost pā was at the Hamilton Gardens, a place called Nukuhou… So really it was the lands, because there was an opportunity to come back and probably lead our people in…buying back our lands and making our people more sustainable…from its lands. That really was the driver behind …me coming back here. [recorded interview, 5 Dec. 2011, Pukeatua]

His participation with MEIT is organic, natural, given his place within the subtribe and his interests. In relation to the ecological restoration of Maungatautari Tao said

> …when we talk about the restoration of Maungatautari in the project…, that's in line with our values of being kaitiaki of the maunga, …kaitiaki is about caring, it's about the well-being of the maunga, it's about, …all those things. So, I mean it's always been in our interest to restore it, to what it should be… Take all the diseases, all the threats that the outside world has brought to Maungatautari, the…introduced pests, …diseases that come with them, …that's why we cannot not support what MEIT is doing…

Tao affirms he believes in the project, he knows that the conservation there is about getting it back to a state as close to what it once was, as it can't return to a pre-human state. He defines the conservation there as protecting what they have got, and links it to environmentalism, as the maunga's ecological recovery will, in his estimation, go beyond what is behind the fence and have a wider effect upon the region's environment. When I asked him to explain the value in saving New Zealand's unique species and whether there was any sort of cultural significance or importance to doing so, he remarked

> …they're, of course, all of ours… And of course we've all throughout the centuries, we've all been guilty of exploiting and creating the demise of many of our natural flora and fauna, and so if we are going to have any conscience whatsoever, …here's a good way to preserve that. And…there shouldn't be any commercial value on them. I think purely they should be for a value that is intangible…and so the value to me of conservation and the saving of these birds and animals and fish, flora, our flora, is, is simply…that…we will change the face of the country forever. Enough damage has been done…to this date. …we have an opportunity to, to at least halt, if not reverse the process, and if it's within our means, …we should…do it… Māori have been in New Zealand for, at least since the 1300s you know,…much of our korero, …because Māori was a spoken language, not a written language, much of our old waiata and watea are based around…nature, …around the maunga, around…those animals, …those birds, the manu, …that were here and that were…our source of fibre, or source of protein…and also…they were important to the well-being, …they were important because a lot of…the natural behaviour of those animals dictated as to how are people were going to prepare and to survive for the next seasons… …Māori have always aligned themselves to nature, and that is one way that they have. Another one is, I guess, Te Tui a Tane, …God of the Forest, …[much] of our korero, you know, refers to Tewa a nui a Tane… …and even to this day, …we…look at ways which…the pipiwharauroa [shining cuckoo] builds its nest because…it lets us know…which way to grow the corn… We've aligned ourselves to nature for many, many centuries…so very important for Māori to try to not only justify, mainly korero, but to have some real basis behind [it]… [recorded interview, 25 Jul. 2012, Pukeatua]

Summarising his thoughts, he said whakatauki (proverbs and sayings) form a backbone to much of their korero, and much of it refers to nature, "and that's why it's important for us…to try and preserve nature in any way we can" (recorded interview, 25 July 2012, Pukeatua).

Tony Wilding

I met Tony Wilding late in January 2010 when part of a task team conducting mice eradication work on Maungatautari. Though Tony did not join this task team daily, he did so with some regularity. Additionally, he and his wife Sally routinely worked tracking card lines in the bush together, and Sally has volunteered at the plant nursery and Trust office. They got started in the project through their friendship with the Wallaces. Tony has served as a trustee and as one of MEIT's co-chairs, when this structure was adopted. The onset of these leadership roles has meant less on-the-maunga project work and more time in Trust related management endeavours and meetings (though he and Sally have continued their monitoring lines). Tony, a long-time farmer in the region, has long been widely engaged in New Zealand's dairy industry. He is a former director of the New Zealand Dairy Group, former director of the New Zealand Dairy Board (a forerunner of Fonterra), and has held a few roles within Fonterra and a role with Federated Farmers. He also has served on the Leukaemia and Blood Cancer New Zealand charity board.

I spoke with Tony on many occasions when we worked together on the maunga and had two interviews with him at his rural Tirau home 14 December 2011 and 26 March 2012. The recorded interviews took place at his kitchen table, which afforded views to his award winning landscape gardens and the family farm beyond it. In the adjacent parlour, I noted a number of old and recent family photographs. I of course asked about his family and ancestors. One of his paternal ancestors, Henry Wilding, a banker from Cornwall, England, came to New Zealand in 1878, determined to make a new start. Tony informed me that the four generations born here in New Zealand, including himself and his son, have all been farmers. His mother grew up in the Hick's Bay area and her roots come from the south of England. Sally, his wife, is from the Herefordshire area of England, where she also grew up on a farm. She met Tony in nearby Matamata whilst on a working holiday.

The farm Tony now works with his son is one his grandfather bought following World War I. Growing up and working on a family farm has enabled him to spend much of his life outdoors. With affinity, he recalls a childhood characterised by a lack of a T.V., full of sport, and exploring the family's land, especially where he could find, pick and enjoy wild blackberry. He admits this freedom did not include visits to the nearby Kaimai Mountain range or areas of native bush, as when young, they did not interest him. When not on the farm, his family took regular summer holidays at the beach, at Tauranga or around Auckland, enabling family there to join them.

Because he noticed the great efforts his parents made in farming, with seemingly little gain, he decided to avoid farming as a profession. His goal was to focus on the science and advisory side of agribusiness. He attended university at Lincoln, focusing on primary and agricultural science. After studying, a working holiday took him to England and Europe. During this working holiday, he reconsidered farming, deciding though that sheep and cattle farming required too much capital. He decided to share-milk to develop an asset base and deal with the life style challenges associated with dairy farming. After marrying Sally, they bought some cows and became share-milkers.

Tony and Sally have continued the tradition of enjoying outdoor-oriented family holidays. When their kids were still at home, holidays were at the beach or trips to the South Island, where they camped on his cousin's property. When the entire family gets together now, more often than not, they camp at the beach, using a small bach as needed. Tony and Sally are also avid trampers. They have enjoyed many of the North Island's walks, making use of DOC huts. They have completed a few tramping walks on the South Island, but admittedly, not the Milford Track. He and his family enjoy skiing, which he picked up from his kids at age forty. Since then, they have had several skiing holidays and now are members of a local ski club at Mt. Ruapehu. Golfing is another pastime Tony enjoys, though of late, other commitments mean it is infrequent.

Having learnt about some of his life experience and pastimes, and noting the large volume of time he would have spent outdoors, I asked his what he felt governs his relationship with New Zealand's environments. He stated

> I think in seeing what you can do on a farm to enhance nature and live with nature and farm with nature, ….it doesn't go counter to producing goods and money, and a lot of people thought if you started getting…too tied up in environmental needs and wants… you reduce the productivity or the ability of your farm to produce. We've never found that the case. [recorded interview, 14 Dec. 2011, Okoroire]

To back up his claim, he related that when he and his wife bought the farm there were few trees on it, native or otherwise. The previous generation of farmers, he said, had cleared away trees and hedges in an effort to increase pasture and productivity. Over the years he and Sally, he said, have planted thousands of trees, and in a wetland area, planted 700 native specimens. This wetland area, he related, is a part of a larger wetland system that helps to filter their effluent pond's water, resulting in very low nitrate and nutrient levels well before it reaches a river. As a couple, they decided to keep the farm's wetlands for a dual purpose: use them to build up native flora and fauna and employ them to help mitigate the farm's effect on the environment. Tony also links his farm-centred conservation to efforts on Maungatautari:

> We've put the odd shelter in and we put a number of shade trees but most of it's for beautification…, we just like trees. …we're trying as hard as we can to make sure that we've got the right food stock here for tui. We just…haven't created a good enough corridor between here and Maungatautari, because a lot of people are saying [that] from Maungatautari they are getting a lot of the tui. …we have a pair each year— they don't stay for long, they come for the kowhai trees which are out here, lovely flax is growing over there…

I asked Tony to tell me his observations of New Zealand's environments throughout his lifetime. Before he related his physical observations, he first had a lot to say about the environmental attitudes he associates with the present generation versus those of the previous generation, and in the process, revealed his views on modern conservation:

> I think there's definitely more consciousness in this generation, in particular the next generation, like my children, and their peers, they're more conscious of…man's impact on the environment. Probably the early settlers here in the 1800s and 1900s just saw it as a resource to exploit and I think that continued for…possibly…two generations… I think we've got to learn from what's happened in the northern hemisphere, because I think their experiences [with] the environment, a good 20 years ahead of us because of population, …let's not learn the same mistakes. Let's learn by their mistakes, not make the same mistakes. …you see this more, …people using [a] caretaker…approach, …they're the present guardians of the land, although they own it, they're just a guardian. They should be handing it on in as good a state as when they took it over, and they shouldn't be causing degradation of soils, degradation of waters and I think there's a stronger feel[ing] about that than there was even twenty-five years ago. [recorded interview, 14 Dec. 2011, Okoroire]

For him, the environmental change that stands out is the poor condition of water and

waterways. He cites the samples taken in underground reservoirs, lakes and streams, and relates that this is especially the case in populated agriculture areas (recorded interview, 14 December 2011, Okoroire).

Tony's heavy involvement in volunteer roles, including leadership roles in MEIT, the Leukaemia Board, a local hospital board, and a training organisation, evince a proclivity to engage in unpaid community service activity. He explains this engagement, as part of something bigger:

> …it's part of our culture ethos: the way we've been brought up is community service is every day, always been important in my family. My father was very involved, he did a lot of community service, schools, local halls, church, golf clubs, he was always someone who…would help out, so I think that's rubbed off on me, so I've got quite a strong community sense of importance, I think that is important. [recorded interview, 14 Dec. 2011, Okoroire]

Concluding his thoughts on volunteer service, he expressed satisfaction with having the time now to be engaged and clarified why he was suited to it: "I'm putting back into the community…what I've learned outside of the community, I'm trying to…now put back, if I can, and if it's of use than I'm happy to do it" (recorded interview, 14 December 2011, Okoroire).

Rod Millar

I met Rod late January of 2010 in front of Scott's Café in Leamington, Cambridge, on my first volunteer day with the project. I quickly noticed he possess a gravitas that makes him a natural leader. As we drove toward Maungatautari he and I settled into an easy conversation. I soon learnt Rod prefers all cards on the table, no ambiguity, as he related his views on aspects of the community, stakeholders and the project, and shared some of his life story. Because of his ease at talking and his passion for the MEIT project, I felt he would likely be a key informant. This was made all the more possible because of the large amounts of time spent together travelling and working around the maunga. I quickly learnt he likes to work hard so long as it accomplishes worthwhile tasks. Over the days, weeks, and months we worked alongside one another we had many informal conversations on many subjects related and unrelated to the project. More formally, I conducted two recorded interviews with him at a commercial worksite in Cambridge on 8 July and 8 August 2011.

Rod is a fourth generation New Zealander as his great, great grandfather, intent on starting a business, came to Auckland from Holland around 1861. Apparently, he soon realised that the business wasn't going to succeed. Before he could arrange any other endeavour, he became engaged in the New Zealand Land Wars, serving in the military at Rangiriri, north of Huntly. Due to his service he was given town and rural land near Te Awamutu. There, he began selling seed and then later transitioned into dairy farming. Rod added that both sides of his family were engaged in farming of one sort or another over a number of previous generations. Consequently, Rod was raised on his dad's farm at Reporoa, halfway between Rotorua and Taupo. Concerning his childhood, Rod says little stands out. He knew that the family had enough to meet basic needs, but describes life then as nothing special. He played (and loved) school rugby while detesting the school teacher's efforts to formally educate him. He recalls farm life in Reporoa, an area at higher elevation than the Waikato Region, was always cold and difficult. His father's farm, a ballot farm received following World War II, was developed from reclaimed swampland. Making a living there was tough as it took great effort, he said, to bend the land to one's will to get it to do something productive. Rod related that due to these experiences, he vowed when young that he would never get into farming.

He left home as soon as he could and began work in a dairy factory. About a year later he set out on an OE (overseas experience)[3], travelling and working from Australia through various Southeast Asian countries, then westward through a number of continental Asian countries, terminating in London. Through it, he recognised New Zealand's social isolation and saw life with unbridled diversity and danger, in stark relief to that of the small farm town he came from. It tempered him, he said, and gave him perspective. He decided to set and work for priorities, to be grateful for what he had, and to always work at "becoming a decent person" (recorded interview, 8 July 2011, Cambridge). In aggregate, he stated, the experiences he had and the observations he made— the stark differences in how many people lived elsewhere in the world— fuel his community engagement. Volunteering in ways that build the community constitutes a way he can show appreciation for what he has been fortunate to enjoy and accomplish in New Zealand.

[3] An "OE'" or overseas experience is a common feature or element within New Zealand society. It refers to the experience many seek, most often when a younger adult, of traveling overseas for an extended period of time, visiting multiple countries, often mixing short-term employment stints with sightseeing and tourist activities.

When Rod spoke of religion in relation to his overseas experience, I asked what role, if any, religion had played in his life. For him, Rod said, religion has never played a role in his life. Living abroad, he encountered various religions people practised. He noted, he said, the negative ways in which religion was affecting people's lives. Citing one example, he related seeing people keep cattle in sheds while children were left outside and hungry. He concedes people do have the right to believe what they want, but does not want beliefs pushed on him, declaring he sees no place for religion in his life. Seeing first-hand the war, strife, and the illogical actions and decisions people made elsewhere in the world and the connection to religion many of these things had, underlies his decision to avoid religion.

Upon returning to New Zealand, he eventually he got into dairy farming as a share-milker. Later, he and his wife bought a rundown dairy farm, renovated it, dramatically increased its productivity, and sold it. They repeated the process with another property. Next they took the risky move of converting a drystock operation into a dairy farm. What he liked most about the work was the challenges it presented to him, including the logistics of moving equipment between the various farms as they upgraded and renovated them.

Rod labels himself a 'Kiwi', preferring the term a bit more than 'New Zealander'. He does not accept the term 'Pākehā', feeling it has a negative connotation to it. He admits though that he is not exactly sure what it means. He then added, he would accept it if it is describing what he is, a New Zealander. After I pointed out the difference between 'nationality' and 'culture', I asked him what word or phrase he would use for his culture. He didn't provide one. Instead, he said: "I like to think that I'm just a typical Kiwi, that I can turn my hand to anything, I'm reasonably well, just a, a decent person, that can do most things, and, and appreciate the things I've got, I think that's, that's probably the biggest thing…" (recorded interview, 8 July 2011, Cambridge). To my query as to what he felt distinguishes New Zealand socially and/or culturally from all other countries and locales in the world, he gave an explanation that thematically dwells on civil liberty and the environment:

> …we are…different to many communities…I've seen because we have those freedoms, so we have the ability to progress our lives in almost any way we want, we can buy land, we can buy a business, we can have a family, we can have as many children as we want and we can afford, you know, that really is, is to me about being in New Zealand and we've got an amazing environment to live in, most of the time. …our cars don't freeze up over winter, we haven't got permafrost, we haven't got twenty-three hour daylight days, …we've got a really good average of a climate that is absolutely amazing and if we don't like a climate where we are we can just move up the hill a bit or down the hill a bit and the climate changes. And we can do that real easy, so we've got everything

> on the plate. With icing on top. It's easy as. [recorded interview, 8 Jul. 2011, Cambridge]

When I asked Rod what his experiences were with New Zealand's natural environments, including the bush, he quickly quipped: "I used to take a chainsaw to them! Seriously, I did! …I've never been a tree planter because it costs money…, you chop a tree down and use it for firewood…, that quite honestly was the financial environment" (recorded interview, 8 July 2011, Cambridge). He admits that he was acting with a view only to the short-term gains he could yield, knowing that in the long-term it wasn't the right answer. In a response to my question asking for his thoughts on the effects intensive farming has on New Zealand's environments, he related instances where people had cleared land ill-suited to farming which degraded the environment. Astute farming to make money is acceptable to him, but, he said, clearing unfavourable land is not. In the middle of discussing this, he added that "the reason that I want to be part of this project is not only for the reasons that it's something new and that it's exciting and you get to meet a lot of people, but, it's actually doing the right thing for the country…" (recorded interview, 8 July 2011, Cambridge). He went on to explain that doing the right thing for the country means doing projects like Maungatautari because

> …we will be the breeding ground for North Island kiwis, probably for the rest of the North Island, forever. I don't think that will change. And to be part of helping making sure that that species is definitely saveable long-term, you know, I'm talking one hundred years, well, I think that's something to be proud of. …and of course we've got all the other species that the same thing applies. …and that's the mainstay of the project to do that, is the way I see it, but then you just get all the benefits…of meeting decent people…and just to doing a good thing.

I then asked him why it was important to him to save the kiwi bird:

> I live in this country and you've got to give something back. It's given a lot to me and to me it's a bit like having Māoris in the country, I would never want to see them disappear because they are part of my heritage and, and the kiwis are part of the heritage too. …I'm rather disgusted to admit that I never ever got close to a kiwi until I saw this project. And then touched one and carried one on the back of the ute, …that's quite special, I never did that before. And it's neat to be able to do it now. Perhaps it's a bit of making up, a bit like with kids you know, because…as you're [raising a family], trying to get some assets together…you can't spend the time with your kids often, especially in farming…

In one of our first conversations, which I paraphrased and recorded in my fieldnotes dated 26 January 2010, Rod explained how, in 2005, he came to be involved in the project. He lives in

Cambridge so the news and excitement over the project in the community was inescapable. When he visited one of the sub-enclosures he met a female researcher from the States studying biological/ecological aspects of Maungatautari. He and a few other visiting individuals had a guided tour with her through the bush. She related to them specific and detailed information about various plants and animals there, and in the process, helped Rod realise something: this American knew far more than he did about his turf, his New Zealand. He said this embarrassed him, and in a way, moved him to act. Combining his desire to learn more about New Zealand's endemic flora and fauna, and keep himself from developing a pot belly, he volunteered and began developing tracks through the bush for pest monitoring.

Given Rod's logistical and practical skills and his determination to give the project his all, he transitioned into the lead role of the 'go-fa' team. For years he has led this team in undertaking various time-consuming and labour-intensive project tasks. He has reached out to local businesses and garnered their support for the project, acquiring volunteers, equipment and funding as needed. He also heads one of the emergency fence repair response teams, available at a moment's notice to repair breaches. From my observations, and by all accounts, he has regularly provided to the Trust and community (as he sees it) well over forty hours a week. He explained that he can do this because he is more or less retired. His earnestness to become successful paid dividends in his work developing land. Subsequently, he can devote what time he wants to the project, and as needed, spend a little time to look after his land investments. This permits him more time than most, he says, to 'give back to the community'.

Evan and Lisa (names changed to provide anonymity)

Evan and Lisa have been volunteers with the project over many years in various roles and levels of involvement both on and off the maunga. On several occasions I worked alongside Evan in various project tasks. I later conducted a recorded interview with them 5 July 2011. At this time, divisions had developed in the project and its community concerning the land rights of adjoining landowners and the impending NKK Treaty settlement that potentially could place Crown Reserve lands on Maungatautari into the hands of the Māori Royal Family under NKK stewardship. These developments and the actions of various individuals produced or exacerbated rifts among project stakeholders and its community. Because of the situation, Evan and Lisa (among others) requested anonymity as a condition for participation.

Lisa, unlike Evan, was born and raised in New Zealand. Her paternal grandfather came to New Zealand from Britain by way of Australia. Her father, a self-taught engineer and entrepreneur, created a business which her brother runs to this day. Lisa, raised in the Waikato, characterised her childhood as normal: she enjoyed sport, especially track and field and netball, enjoyed summer vacations at Ohope Beach, and appreciated frequent visits with nearby family. However, though much of her life was spent in the Waipa District, she had little personal experience with Maungatautari. Her family on occasion visited farmers on its slopes, but she, with a fondness for running sport, preferred flat, wide open spaces. In her young adult life, Lisa obtained tertiary education and went on to teach primary school for a number of years. Thereafter, she did her OE, and in so doing, met Evan.

Evan, like Lisa, grew up in a rural area. His great, great paternal grandfather was an Irish immigrant, while his ancestry on his mother's side ultimately had a Dutch background. His father, who earned a professional degree, ended up teaching high school, which, he said, meant they lived meagrely. Weekends, summers, and school holidays for him were not spent at a beach or camping or travelling; typically they were spent working on farms. He does not begrudge that life, as he enjoyed farm life and its activities. Whilst attending university his father passed away. He soon found himself attempting to continue schooling while financially supporting his mother. A family friend, cognizant of the situation, encouraged him forward and loaned him money. This, he says, helped him through this challenging time. Years later when he sent this person a cheque to repay the loan, it was returned to him. The person's response, that repayment was not expected and that he should ever do likewise for others, left an indelible impression, he said. One experience exemplifies his putting this into practice: when a young man he knew lost his father, Evan stepped in as a 'Big Brother', helping the lad cope with the loss as they spent time working on projects and hobbies.

After marrying, Lisa and Evan chose to remain in his birth country. There, they involved themselves in a local Christian church and the community as they raised their family. This involvement was important to Evan as his parents set an example of being religious and being involved. Upon moving to New Zealand after his retirement, it was at first difficult for them to find ways to connect with the community. Though Evan had repeatedly been a scout leader, it was no longer a good fit at this stage of life. No single church or congregation was compelling enough to join. Lisa then began a new teaching job and kept busy reconnecting with family. Evan, awash with free time, considered a return to gainful employment, but caught himself in the thought: "I thought…, I could go in get a job somewhere…, it's nice to have money, but I thought, no, this is the time to give back

somewhere, some project somewhere…" (recorded interview, 5 July 2011, Cambridge). Thus, he was looking to get involved in something just when the Maungatautari project was commencing.

When I asked Lisa to tell me what she thought distinguished New Zealand's society and culture from all others in the world, and what name she would put to her 'culture', she replied, "I always thought of myself as English… Because…my grandfather was always, well he was English when I knew him growing up here because he came over here when he was, …fifteen, so yeah, …probably the English side of things, because my mother was English… (recorded interview, 5 Jul. 2011, Cambridge). For Evan, the name he would use for his 'culture' was merely the term for citizens of his birth country (which has English as one its official languages). However, he added, he likes to stress his Irish background when it suits him, which when he said this, I posited, "St. Patrick's Day?", we both laughed, and he wryly responded with "green beer" (recorded interview, 5 July 2011, Cambridge).

Evan and Lisa's involvement in the project started with an experience countless others had: a visit to Warrenheip. Local primary school classes at the time had begun to make fieldtrips to the restored and fenced gully on the Wallace's property. One of the local school's teachers contacted Evan about one such trip, as he had been volunteering at their school. He went on the fieldtrip and witnessed the informative and entertaining presentation Juliette Wallace provided. When Juliette discussed the idea of restoring Maungatautari, she noticed Evan writing down the information. Before Evan left, Juliette stopped him and introduced her husband, David Wallace. It wasn't long before Evan found himself helping kiwi birds out of transport boxes and into the Warrenheip enclosure. In our conversation, when I mentioned I had been enjoying the physical work of the project and the friends I was making, Evan remarked, "…you've touched on something here: working with people and helping people out, etc.; one of the most significant benefits of this project— and many people will tell you this— is the people you meet and the friendships and camaraderie. It's been great" (recorded interview, 5 July 2011, Cambridge). Sensing his palpable enthusiasm for the project, if not for the friendships built, I asked him directly why he wants the project to succeed. He explained:

> Well everyone has the same thinking. You know, the human race just basically destroys stuff [he chuckles as he says this] and they've certainly destroyed the flora and fauna in this country and here's an opportunity to help to bring back what was once here. …it's just a plus for the local community in New Zealand as a whole, and the world, if we can put this mountain back the way it was, keep…specific species from becoming extinct

> and it can be a model for, once again, not only this country but for the world as to what can be done. [recorded interview, 5 Jul. 2011, Cambridge]

I pressed him further about it, asking why it was important for *him* to restore Maungatautari and be a part of the process of doing so. He remarked:

> I guess I appreciate nature and the natural things… The beauty of it, the importance it has to the ecology, …the land. I don't want to wax lyrical here but the land, the flora and the fauna and all that…is all interconnected and I think it's just important to keep that. If we want to continue as a human race on the planet, the way to do it isn't just to keep building bigger bombs and fighting each other, it's look after the planet so we can survive. And if we don't look after the planet…, be it the air, the water, …everything that grows and lives and breathes out there, just a road to disaster. [recorded interview, 5 Jul. 2011, Cambridge]

A moment later, after I posited his attitude toward conservation could ultimately be self-serving for humans, he continued and explained why he got involved:

> …it's no different whether it's this country or another…, I was minimally involved with, as a supporter of [a certain country's] wildlife…in some projects there, in a minimal way, but being a full-time worker and raising a family, [it] wasn't to the extent…here. But I've just always lived in [rural settings]… On a farm you appreciate these things. …you want to see the whole environment get better, not keep destroying it. …what[ever] country you are in, they're all the same, they are all heading down the slippery slope. So, yeah just wanted to support a project and this is what I saw at the time, so, signed up.

Jan Doran

Jan and I met 30 September 2011 when a group of volunteers worked in the Tari wetland sub-enclosure together removing invasive blackberry, which could injure takahe there. The task, normally done by the planting and weeding team, was a new experience for Jan. Usually she made the long drive from her Gordonton home to the south side of Maungatautari to work two pest monitoring lines in the nearby Southern Enclosure. However, she was not able to do them presently, as MEIT had asked the enclosure's volunteers to stay off the land, as some of the landowners[4] there were objecting to the presence of volunteers and certain project developments. The Trust, trying to negotiate in good faith with them, took

[4] A number of hectares of project land within the Southern Enclosure and to the west of it, within the larger ecological island project fence system, is jointly owned by a number of members of the Muru family and whanau, who have links to local hapū and the Kahuariki. While it appears that leaders of their land trust initially did not object to the project and the placement of the Xcluder fence system on their property, leadership at the time (which may have differed from those at the time of MEIT's launch) objected to the lack of formal, legal agreements for public use of their land and recent MEIT moves to further develop eco-tourism there, absent due or regular consultation.

the proactive step of restricting volunteers from those areas. Jan, wanting to remain active in project, contacted the Trust and was offered this task as a way to contribute. Not being able to do her normal lines frustrated her, but she enjoyed the day's work: she was able to get more sun and work alongside and talk with others. Further, it wasn't objectionable for her that the wetland work had direct and positive ecological benefits.

At our 24 July 2012 interview on the Waikato University campus, I learnt that Jan, in her mid-fifties, is a fourth generation New Zealander on her father's side, and third generation on her mother's side. Her ancestors came from England, Denmark and France, first to Northland, primarily settling in the Waikato, around Matamata. Like her parents, she was raised on a farm, learning and doing all the chores it requires, including haymaking, tending chickens, and removing scrub from paddocks and milking cows twice daily. On weekends her family routinely enjoyed picnics at the back of their farm. She recalls that even when a young girl, she was passionate about saving trees, helping hurt animals, and conserving marine biology. As a teenager she started to rebel against farm life, and expressed interest in becoming a marine biologist, which, she said, didn't exactly produce parental support. In the end, she opted for what was safe, taking an administrative job in Hamilton. After marrying, she began a nursing career. She has done a few things, however, to remain engaged in conservation and environmentalism. She has been a member of Greenpeace for at least twenty-five years. As evidence of her longstanding environmental awareness, she related an incident many years prior: intent on reducing and reusing as much as possible, she began taking her own reusable bags (long before it was commonplace) to the grocery store.

While growing up, her family was busy enough that summer holidays, often at Waihi Beach, were no longer than two weeks. Life was otherwise devoted to work. The community, she related, was tight knit and supportive. Often everyone came together for workbees so that daunting tasks could more easily be accomplished. I asked what role religion might have played in this, if any. She informed me that religion played no part in her family's life as they were too busy surviving. None of the neighbours, she recalls, went to church either. The town didn't even have a church building. On Sundays however, her family spent time together and drove into town for Sunday bread and donuts or enjoyed some fish and chips. There were no Māori in the area, she said, pointing out that she never saw, let alone met, a Māori individual until she attended intermediate school. With this comment, we talked about the possible reasons for this. She posited that the post-World War II urbanisation of Māori was a likely reason. (Here I noted that she did not mention other just as likely, but less proximate, reasons, such as mortality from foreign disease, the Land Wars, land confiscations, and later, land

dispossession via the Māori Land Court[5]). She suggested that likely there never was a large Māori presence in the area. According to what she had learnt, the region was primary swampland, and until it was drained and put into pasture by immigrant settlers, was not usable land.

In her own family, she and her husband (who was raised in the city) reached a number of goals and created some of their own traditions. In 2005 they purchased a farm. Among other reasons for this move, she wanted her youngest son to know farm life, believing it would help him develop a strong work ethic. They observe the nearly obligatory summer beach holiday, but also take skiing trips and visit national parks and other sights in New Zealand. Through family relations, they have stayed several times at a private lodge at Preservation Inlet in Fiordland on the South Island. She described it as a conservationist's paradise, citing voluminous birdsong emanating from offshore isles. Family trips, however, have not been overseas. They simply have had much to enjoy in New Zealand.

When discussing New Zealand's cultural milieu, Jan told me of an experience she had. In meeting a woman from Czechoslovakia, who was a part of the travelling show, *Men in Tutus,* the woman remarked she hated being in New Zealand, because, as she saw it, it had no culture. Jan indicated she knew what she meant: New Zealand lacks the many, many ancient buildings or 'high culture' trappings and venues which blanket Europe. In our discussion, Jan posited that culture, writ large, was the views a person or people held. My query of what name she would put to her culture brought this response: "That's an interesting question isn't it? Hmmm… …I would hope that I know a little bit about Māori culture as well, Aotearoa, so I would pass myself as a New Zealander with Aotearoa aspirations I suppose" (recorded interview, 24 July 2012, Hamilton). A moment later, she added that she would love to learn Te Reo Māori given the marvellous experiences she had in recent years whilst attending dawn ANZAC[6] services on a seaside marae. She added that "out of respect for [Māori] you need to learn their language" (recorded interview, 24 July 2012, Hamilton). Minutes later, when she indicated the haka was something unique about New Zealand society

[5] Recall a significant percentage of Māori died from foreign disease due to a lack of naturally-developed immunity. Death and displacement associated with the Land Wars, and the enforced land confiscations that were meted out following the end of the wars, removed iwi and hapū from much of the region, permitting settlers to take their place. The Māori land court was subsequently used by settlers and the government to further dispossess Māori of land. Thus, post-WWII Māori urbanisation does not well and truly account for the low Māori-to-settler/Pākehā ratio that Waikato farming communities experience.

[6] ANZAC is an acronym for Australian and New Zealand Army Corps. In the First World War, soldiers from Australia and New Zealand (including Māori) fought together in a conglomerated corps, primarily in the Mediterranean, at places like Gallipoli, Turkey. Annually, on 25 April, New Zealand observes a day of honour and remembrance for them and all those who have served the countries and the commonwealth.

and culture, she explained it has "become really important …to Europeans,…New Zealand Pākehā as well, …it's part of us now…" (recorded interview, 24 Jul. 2012, Hamilton). Later in our conversation, in expressing concern over the project's future amidst the emergence of factions in its community, and threats by some to remove sections of the fence, she remarked that she is "unsure of [what] the outcome's going to be, yeah. Not, not for me as a Pākehā, for the project" (recorded interview, 24 July 2012, Hamilton). Because she was regularly using the term 'Pākehā' for non-Māori farmers and herself I took the opportunity to ask her views on the term. She surprised me with her reply:

> I hate it...I find it derogatory. …it sounds like some lower class of dog, yeah. I prefer to be called European New Zealander…I always cross it out on the census and put 'New Zealand European'. [She and I both chuckle.] Yeah. It, it does sound derogatory to me… …you want respect to go both ways… [recorded interview, 24 Jul. 2012, Hamilton]

When the conversation turned again to the various roles people can play in conservation, I asked what about the Maungatautari project interested her. She replied: "what piqued my interest was the, …saving something of immense value and restocking it with birds that have [not] been there for one hundred-odd years" (recorded interview, 24 July 2012, Hamilton). In 2005 or 2006, she became familiar with the project through various local news sources. She decided to take part as a volunteer and contacted the Trust's office. Because of her involvement with the Maungatautari project she admits "I've become more pig-headed about [conservation], …I base my whole lifestyle around conservation, recycling and that…, when I make a decision I evaluate what impact it's going to have the on the environment first" (recorded interview, 24 July 2012, Hamilton). After I confirmed that generally New Zealand's bush was the "something of immense value" she mentioned moments earlier, I asked what the value was in New Zealand's bush and endemic biota:

> To me I have, I, I guess it's becomes like a spiritual connection. I feel for…that bush... Would love to live in it and breathe it…and I am, love to be part of it every day, …I get quite emotional about it. …I would love everybody in New Zealand to be like that, …to have that…desire to save something that's important that used to be here, showing respect for it.

Moments later, she added: "I love conserving stuff, I love saving stuff and I love…having an open field and planting trees in it. That blows my hair right back… watching those trees grow, nurturing them, looking after them…watching wildlife coming into those trees…as

their home" (recorded interview, 24 July 2012, Hamilton). One of her goals is to fence off and conserve bush on her farm. A hindrance to this goal, she said, was her husband, who enjoys it for hunting. I asked her whether she was aware a QEII covenant could be placed on it. She indicated she was unfamiliar with QEII. In the meantime, she said, until they agreed on the bush's fate, be it a protected reserve or a small forest for hunting pleasure, they agreed to actively remove mammalian pests.

Time spent volunteering in the bush for Jan, and for her husband, who occasionally joins her, comes with a cost. Driving to the mountain takes an hour. Work in the bush takes several hours. Then there is the return trip home. In an already busy farm life, compounded by the livestock trading business they run, discretionary time is rare. Management of the business spills into evening hours. Jan, whose love of netball and sport got her into coaching, does far less of it. Less housework gets done. Less time is spent in local community endeavours. Despite the personal sacrifice, she participates because she's passionate about the project.

Gordon Blake

Getting to know Gordon was a gradual process. It began with volunteer work in the Trust's office and observing Trust meetings. My fieldnotes record little about him as there were few instances of direct interaction between us. I did, however, get ample opportunity to observe him interact within Trust and committee meetings over nearly a two year period. Gordon was one of the founding trustees of the Trust. He occupied a co-opted community-member role continuously from that time to the time I left New Zealand and for some time thereafter. I interviewed him 13 December 2011 at his farm home in Tirau. In our interview he announced that in the coming year he would turn seventy years old, and he used this to gauge how long he had been here at this home. He was born in Matamata and has lived in the Tirau area most of his life. With pleasure, he announced that it is the oldest home standing in the Otorori settlement. He and his wife Pam now run the farm that was his father's. Previously, it was a drystock farm. Now it is a dairy farm with over five hundred head of cattle, with a 3.5ha kiwi-fruit plantation on the side.

With an interest in family history, Gordon has traced his maternal ancestry to a Swedish sea captain who explored the Whanganui River, three generations back. He has many relatives through this line who live around Reefton. On his father's side he is a third generation Kiwi. His paternal great grandfather came from Scotland to Northland for better opportunities. Because he was raised on a farm, and well aware of its labour-intensive nature,

I asked whether what influenced him to choose farming and whether it was a conscious decision. By the age of sixteen he was engaged in making key farm decisions under the watchful eye of his father. He recalled meetings with bank officers where his father let him take the lead. If he made any mistakes, his father would correct him. In this way, he learnt the ins and outs of managing a large farm operation.

The conversion of the farm from drystock to dairying, a move his father disliked, was financial motivated change aided by a father-in-law experienced in dairying. Gordon explained that he and his father came to have quite differing ideas about farming. Farm experts in his father's day advocated for treeless paddocks, asserting cows would stand under them in the summertime for shade, as opposed to eating grass. Consequently, when Gordon was young, he said his father "was…more interested in clearing the land. So I spent my early years here…clearing a lot of this farm because a lot of it was unbroken" (recorded interview, 13 December 2011, Tirau). Gordon related that over the last twelve to fifteen years the pendulum has swung the other way. Farmers, more aware of the environment, endeavour to protect streams and waterways from effluent and runoff. They are planting trees. Gordon indicated he has done this. When I drove up to the farmhouse on the day of our interview I noticed a good number of trees around it and in his paddocks.

Growing up there gave him a number of experiences he recalled with fondness. Though his childhood was filled with farm work, he did get time to enjoy other aspects of life. Most of all, he spent time playing rugby at every chance. When he was a kid, he and his mates rode their bikes everywhere and fished in many nearby streams. Horseback riding was another common element in his life. He typically rode a horse to school. When he and his friends or family went pig hunting, they did so on horseback. He also occasionally explored some native bush at the back of the farm.

When raising his own children, Gordon decided to carve out quality time with his kids. To take two week summer holidays, He and his wife employed others to run their farm. They often stayed at Kennedy's Bay in the Coromandel, camping in tents on an isolated land block he and his brother purchased. Gordon remarked that he still loves to take vacations at the beach, especially with the larger family and his grandchildren. Despite his goal, he lamented, he still spent too little time with his children. Aware of my five young children, he cautioned me that this time of their life goes fast, urging me to enjoy it while it lasts.

He and Pam have kept busy outside of farm work. He has travelled and seen much of New Zealand, often when he was Mayor of South Waikato District. He also has sat on the Waikato River Authority Board, a community council, and consulted with the River Trail project. They have taken the family on trips all over New Zealand. He and Pam have visited the UK, where one of their sons lives, as well as a few other European countries while there. Other hobbies he enjoys include his love of old cars, evidenced by his vintage car club membership and a 1935 Vauxhall, and, before back surgery, golf and tennis. Pam loves to garden and plant around the farm, even in the rain.

I raised the topic of the effects of intensive farming on New Zealand's environment when he mentioned the great effort New Zealand settlers made to make a life there. He related that as a farmer of his generation, agriculture has governed or shaped his relationship with the environment. He started out slashing and burning, he said, just as most everyone did, with the goal to maximise paddock size. And though he had no direct connection to Maungatautari, it has always been on his 'horizon' and in his life: through his lounge or in a certain paddock when looking between two hills, you can see Maungatautari in the distance. He learnt early on from Māori workers his father employed that when clouds capped Maungatautari's peaks, rain would soon come to the farm. Throughout his life, he has been aware of Maungatautari as a forested island amidst the region's farms, known of its role as a deer and pig hunting site, and understood its significance for local Māori and farmer alike.

Gordon's engagement with MEIT was a logical development relative to his work and interests. At the time the project started he was Mayor of South Waikato. Though his district did not have any direct connection to or current stake in the project, it formerly had stewardship over half of Maungatautari. Gordon Stephenson and David Wallace were both acquaintances of his. A daughter-in-law is Wallace's niece. He was quickly courted into the project by them, though, he said, they didn't have to twist his arm. In discussing the project's aims and challenges facing New Zealand's conservation estate, Gordon indicated his view on the project's importance:

> New Zealand has transgressed quite badly…in protecting our native species, flora and fauna, …that is one of…things that really appeals about Maungatautari… To have that mainland island to be able to reintroduce, …to protect, …we're going to be able to breed up, and put back into other areas, species, that for so long had been headed down, ...facing the threat of extinction, …I think we should always be aware of species and that's perhaps, …a little bit of…the farmer [in me] in dealing with animals, …it's the same when you have livestock. You have dead stock. …it's always hard when you lose

> an animal. Where still, if you are going to lose a species because invariably they've been serving a purpose, that's why they've been here… You take them out of the chain, …a chain is only as strong as its weakest link. How do we know if we let a species become extinct, if that's the weakest link…, …what will the long-term effect be? [recorded interview, 13 Dec. 2011, Tirau]

Summarising his rationale for his involvement, Maungatautari is about saving species and rare elements of New Zealand for future generations to enjoy. In talking about the project's success, he discussed the onset of a 'green' awareness in New Zealand:

> …in my later life the growing cultural awareness I guess, of our environment and what conservation [is]…, an understanding that to be green is not to be bad— you know, it was, …in most farming circles, it was almost a dirty word, to say green, 'you're a greenie!' [He then laughs.] So…yeah, [it] altered my thinking, …I think there's a growing, one would say almost, 'cultural', awareness in that area, in New Zealand and it's probably…epitomized what's happened with Maungatautari. …[I'm] absolutely certain [Maungatautari] could not have been achieved in the way it has without that awareness that provides that real volunteer base…

Gordon self-identified as a Kiwi, though he accepted the term 'Pākehā'. Several times in our conversation, especially when it we touched on farming and aspects of New Zealand society, he used the term 'Pākehā' freely. I asked him what he understood it to mean, what his views of it were, and who it applied to:

> I've never taken it as a derogatory term at all. Some people get quite offended, …if they're being called 'Pākehā'…, it never worries me, …I think once again it's an understanding of, they had to refer to and identify in some way, and it was the white traders that were coming and invading. And not all invading, they had missionaries and other people, but, …for the ones that think the word 'Pākehā' is…a derogatory term, I think…it's because they have never studied what they don't understand.

Kiwi is the term he used to label his culture, but there was more complexity to it:

> Well it depends, you know, there's several ways of looking at your culture… For me, …as an individual my culture is, and always will be, the outdoors. But…as I said earlier, understanding the cultural differences of New Zealand… There's still a huge lot for the average New Zealander to learn about our Māori culture and I think we could still make some huge progress in general relationships and in a better understanding of New Zealanders and New Zealand.

Discussion and Conclusion

The project participants profiled here represent the diverse array of those I encountered in the project. Most were from the Waipa district, residing in Cambridge and the surrounding rural areas throughout the district between Hamilton and Te Awamutu and around Maungatautari itself. Most of these participants were mature adults, aged between forty and seventy years old. The Rolleys, and Evan and Lisa, who lived on a lifestyle blocks, were retired, like many of the project's volunteers. Others, such as the Garlands, Wildings, Youngers, Doran or Millar still lived on and/or worked a farm, under circumstances that to one degree or another, permitted them time to devote to the project. Saliently, all these MEIT project participants had in common a large proportion of lifetime experience to reflect upon, with much of it associated with work and/or pleasure activities that took place in, or focused on, the outdoors and the environment. With the exception of Lisa and Ally Tairi (whose childhoods were not solely confined to rural environments) each participant surveyed here was raised in a farm environment. I did however encounter, talk with, and interview a few participants who came from urban environments, though most still spoke of regular and significant outdoor experiences they had throughout their lives. Most participants did in common relate narratives of having grown up on a farm and regular experience with the bush or other "natural" areas in the course of their lives. Some of these narratives included observations that New Zealand's bush and wild areas had significantly degraded in their lifetimes. They noted that birdlife had disappeared and streams and rivers had further deteriorated due to effluent and fertilizer run-off. These narratives and observations were in turn linked to discourse explaining their involvement in the project, underscored with the aim to restore and conserve these otherwise deteriorated elements on Maungatautari.

In common, the narratives and discourse among non-Māori or Pākehā participants conveyed a dichotomisation related to land. Pākehā participants spoke of land in ways that implied a distinct recognition of two types. One type is productive land, which is land considered to be suited and best used for the production of stock animals, milk, or food. The other type of land is land that is subsumed cognitively under what could be labelled as "natural areas", qualified as areas that deserve to be undeveloped and protected for the purposes of improving the environment, offsetting the effects of intensive farming, restoring endemic and indigenous biota, and/or enabling human enjoyment. Coinciding with this dichotomy was a range of values attached to each type of land. Values and notions expressed in relation to so-called productive land included: preservation of land to retain an identity referent or intergenerational interconnectedness through common lifeways and stewardships;

responsible utilisation of land to provide for and help humans; and conscientious stewardship of productive land recognised as not being truly "owned" but rather held for a time on behalf of others until the responsibility passed to another. Values and notions conveyed or couched in their narratives and discourse relative to "natural" land/areas included: conserving biodiversity to protect nature's web of life, human existence or a certain quality of human existence; eschewing selfishness in the form of showing proper consideration for the lives of future generations of New Zealanders and the quality of their existence and ability to have natural areas to enjoy; consideration for the cultural concepts of others (in the form of recognising the cultural ties and meanings Māori may have relative to the bush or natural areas and culturally and/or historically significant sites); and effecting ameliorative restitution for former, degradative land use practices.

Mana Whenua participants did not convey a similar 'land-type' dichotomisation. They characterised and spoke of land as either land that was part of their hapū's or iwi's rohe (land to which they belonged) regardless of whether or not they currently controlled it, and recognised other land which others belonged to or controlled. Land, in others words, was spoken of in terms of its disposition relative to humans as opposed to the ways in people designated and used it. Further, in talking about Maungatautari they expressed support and personal wishes to see its biota and ecological state improved and restored for various reasons: the preservation of New Zealand's conservation estate for and in behalf all New Zealanders; the recognition and protection of the maunga's sacredness and sacred sites there; and the preservation of certain aspects of their culture, namely proverbs and expressions. However, they also spoke of it as a place suited to acquire certain foods and medicines (and this is also in line with preserving aspects of their culture). Though they admitted that the bush or forest need not be used for subsistence any longer, they did allow that it could be used in the future for both formal cultural harvesting and informal acquisition of plants and mushrooms for medicinal use and supplemental foodstuffs.

Many Mana Whenua or Pākehā participants who grew up on Maungatautari's slopes commonly spoke of Maungatautari and the bush there in terms and expressions that recognised them as places to enjoy and explore. Many spoke of recreationally exploring the forest there, seeing it as an extension of their rear section. It offered seclusion, mystery, and in every way was a place perfectly suited for play, exploration, demonstrations of growing independence for maturing youth, and a way to connect with 'nature'. At other times trips in Maungatautari's forests were for collecting stray or browsing cattle, or for collecting mushrooms, fern leaves, supplejack and more for food and medicine. Even so, these trips

provided still further opportunities to explore its topography, trails, and features, which produced enjoyable memories that evidently deepened cognitive and emotional links to the maunga.

In talking about themselves, or their identity, non-Māori/Pākehā project participants I interviewed provided a wide range of responses and views, with broad variegation on a number of aspects. This seems to coincide with the non-marked nature of their culture and sociocultural identity (indeed, this was a factor in the very emergence of the term 'non-Māori' in the Trust when no other term for all those who were not Māori could be agreed upon). Some did accept the term 'Pākehā' for their sociocultural identity just as much as 'white New Zealanders', such as the Rolleys, whilst others, such as Bill Garland, Rod Millar an Jan Doran rejected 'Pākehā' as the term for their culture and identity, feeling it is derogatory at worst, or disrespectful at best. 'Kiwi' or "New Zealander' were terms others preferred for their culture and identity. A few said they would accept 'European New Zealander' and fewer still asserted they were 'English' or 'European'.

When talking about themselves in relation to their ancestors, especially when discussing their ancestors' settler stories, non-Māori participants I interviewed frequently related what generation New Zealander they were, with some even breaking this down by the maternal and paternal lines. Most interviewees indicated they were a second or third generation New Zealander of British ancestry, though other European countries occasionally surfaced, such as Holland, Denmark and France. Most, but not all, of these participants were able to relate knowledge of their settler ancestors leaving their previous homelands and their efforts at creating new lives in New Zealand. In relief, a very small number of interview participants either did not employ this generational marker for their identity and/or were immigrants either from Europe or from the Americas.

Mana Whenua project participants I interviewed, like Ally Tairi and Tao Tauroa, self-identified, at the least, as being of the Waikato-Tainui iwi, or of the Tainui waka group that gave rise to this tribe. For them and others, this proclaims their indigeneity, identifies them with a collective linked along patrilineal and matrilineal lines, and through whakapapa, connects them to shared history, knowledge, and a collective sense of belonging to a place imbued with treasured and identifying stories and sites. A marae and marae experience were also identified as a marker of this identity, along with Maungatautari itself, as the marae and maunga constituted anchors and referents of their rohe, whilst being raised in marae-centric sociocultural environment, not surprisingly, lent additional depth and strength to this sociocultural identity.

Final Summary and Thoughts

The intent of this chapter has been to present the sociocultural backgrounds of a number of individuals who have to one degree or another participated in the MEIT project. Additionally, the narratives and the life situations they presented in connection with their involvement in project have been included to produce of picture of those engaged in the community-based conservation project. In reviewing all the data, a number of strong common factors emerge. These participants, which all come from the Waikato region, all have had strong and regular experiences with farm production or direct connections to Maungatautari and rural environments. Most are at a stage in life where they have discretionary time and means to be able to freely devote to the project, or in the case of Ally, to be able to work for the project, that among other objectives provides a strong, informal link for NKK to the project. Both Mana Whenua and Pākehā individuals agreed on the common project goal of restoring Maungatautari's biodiversity and bringing/hosting visitors there to enjoy it and provide some level of revenue. They jointly recognised that in preserving its biodiversity, as a portion of New Zealand's biodiversity, they were doing something good for the nation, even perhaps the global biome and human community. Lastly, they all expressed enjoyment in undertaking project work and in the camaraderie they experienced in this participation.

However, as can be seen, each person's sociocultural uniqueness does produce some differences in how they link themselves to and envision the project and/or the maunga. It produces differing reasons for their participation and ultimate goals for the project. For Pākehā adjoining landowners and volunteers in the project we see that they have a dichotomisation of land by types, according to how it should be 'used'. This, along with their strong connections and life experiences relative to land either as productive land or as natural areas to enjoy and protect— and with their sociocultural backgrounds and identity being highly connected to the use of land as a means of production in a larger, money-based economy— they see the project as a 'natural area', an area most suited to conservation and protection for the enjoyment of all New Zealanders and tourists, and wholly unsuited for production. Further, they see the project as a way to ameliorate or offset maladroit use of land by themselves (in some case) and by generations of settlers and Māori before them.

For Mana Whenua, their sociocultural identity, with its direct connection through whakapapa, hapū and iwi, links to their rohe and Maungatautari and produces a slightly differing view of the project, and with it, differing ultimate goals. Yes, they want the bush and biodiversity restored there for all New Zealanders to enjoy, but they also have some of their own unique reasons for this. Helping to bring about Maungatautari's restoration fulfils

kaitiaki obligations they have to ancestors and generations of their hapū to come, as well as to the Kingitanga. It constitutes a way to preserve cultural proverbs, knowledge and expressions that are based on, or reference, biota once present, and now being restored there. As an identity referent for their rohe, and hence for them, and a sacred place overall, Maungatautari is a taonga, which as an anchor and landmark for their rohe, must be protected and acquired in a manner whereby they can protect it as they see fit. It is for Mana Whenua a place to enjoy, a place to revere or cherish, as well as a place to obtain certain foods and medicines. Due to their direct, longer, and stronger sociocultural link to Maungatautari, the maunga and its role for them, come first, and the project second.

Participants in the project have differing ultimate reasons for their participation in the project and the efforts they make to protect Maungatautari in relation to their sociocultural background and identity, particularly as these pertain to Maungatautari. Indeed, their idea of protecting it and what specifically merits greater attention varies (chapter six's examination of the differing conceptions of mana, which revealed an anxiety some Mana Whenua held concerning any possible maligning of Maungatautari exemplified this). They view land differently. Mana Whenua categorise land based on its disposition or relationship with human groups, whilst Pākehā in the project conceived of land in terms of whether it was suitable for production or better suited as natural areas. Mana Whenua participants have strong links to their marae and the sociocultural aspects of life associated with marae/hapū life. Significant commitments exist for them which extend beyond the nuclear family to a much larger family grouping, the whanau and the hapū. Most are well versed in New Zealand's history concerning how Māori and their tribe were treated by settlers and the ensuing governments of the land. This, along with the debate around, and effects of, Treaty settlements, means that between Mana Whenua and all others in the project, some cognitive dissonance exists relative to Maungatautari's perceived proper fate or disposition.

By and large, a larger proportion of participants are Pākehā, but this of course reflects the region's sociocultural proportion. Mana Whenua participants were local Mana Whenua, primarily from NKK and Waikato-Tainui. They related strong hapū/iwi connections to the area and Maungatautari, which was a factor in their participation. They self-identified as indigenous peoples, who belong to the land in the area and have spiritual and ancestral links to it. Many Pākehā in the project saw themselves as New Zealanders, not as settlers. This was typically expressed in terms of being a second, third, or fourth generation New Zealander. Those living on Maungatautari's slopes often related that a multigenerational link existed

with their land, and this was viewed as a marker of their identity. Using this land carefully for production was seen as constituting proper stewardship of productive land.

Irreducibly, project participants, be they Mana Whenua or Pākehā or white New Zealander or whatever term that is preferred, share many proximate sociocultural elements and goals for the project. They desire endemic biota to be restored and protected in perpetuity on Maungatautari. They desire others to visit there and enjoy its sights and sounds. Most wish it to continue as a community-based conservation project. They, in the main, have had lives filled with outdoor experiences, informed by observations of its changes. They all speak English as their first language. They all have attended schools in the area as part of the same educational system. They all participate in, and rely on, the same wider legal, economic and political systems in the district, region and country. Most are in the same stage of life and have sufficient means to devote some measure of time to the project. Most of all, they all enjoy spending time in helping the project progress forward, and value its accomplishments in conserving New Zealand's threatened endemic biodiversity.

CHAPTER VIII

PARTICIPANT VIEWS AND DISCOURSE

This chapter continues the examination of the role of culture within the context of the MEIT project by looking at individuals. It looks at the concepts, attitudes and views project participants expressed in our exchanges concerning ideology, various terms and concepts, and competing discourse and rhetoric that have been and are a part of biodiversity conservation and stakeholder collaboration in the project. An understanding of how these topics and terms are understood by project participants provides another way to better understand the role of culture in the project, as the views participants hold of them are influenced by the worldviews and knowledge systems participants were enculturated with. Locating common conceptual ground or engendering increased inter-stakeholder understanding and appreciation, through awareness, understanding, and integration of the disparate approaches, interests, and viewpoints of stakeholders, can help avoid or reduce inter-stakeholder dissonance and thus becomes essential in engendering productive multi-stakeholder collaboration for the benefit of the project (Poncelet 2004:xv,xxi-xxii,5,10).

The first part of this chapter examines participant views on a number of issues and topics. Each is organised by the topic in question and presents a data set that contains four or more participant responses which are representative of the array of responses I received from all participants. In order to contextualise these responses, succinct participant profiles are provided for those participants not already profiled in the previous chapter. These profiles relate participant's volunteer role(s), information about their ancestry and life experience, and the sociocultural identity they subscribe to. In each subsection of part one, discussion and analysis assesses participant expressions on the topics and compares expressions and stances based on sociocultural identity, and identifies patterns. It also highlights the culturally-derived values, attitudes, and concepts, which in connection with various discourse, influence the way individuals and groups view themselves in New Zealand's society, interact with other project stakeholders, and approach the project and its challenges. This part of the chapter concludes with a discussion and analysis of each subsection's findings and presents normative solutions which can improve biculturalism and partnership in the Trust's multi-stakeholder interaction sphere.

The second part of the chapter examines views and understandings participants expressed on a number of key terms, notions and concepts deployed and utilised in discourse and rhetoric surrounding the project. It begins with a subsection that examines 'biculturalism', assessing the views participants expressed toward it and their understandings of it and concludes with a discussion and analysis. Next, in a second subsection, participants' views on a number of key terms and concepts from both English and Te Reo Māori are explored. An analysis is included that determines the extent to which participants from differing sociocultural backgrounds hold similar views on these terms. Part two of this chapter ends with a conclusion that synthesises findings from both subsections and relates implications for MEIT mulit-stakeholder partnership and the project.

Part I: Issues and Topics

Farming and New Zealand's Environment

In interviews I asked participants to share their thoughts concerning the effects of intensive farming on New Zealand and its environment. This question was asked to provide responses that would help me understand how project participants viewed the condition of New Zealand's environment, whether and to what degree they felt intensive farming has had an influence on it, and what discourse they subscribed to relative to these views. These responses can further indicate whether a pattern exists and whether there are broad, shared views amongst and/or across sociocultural groups engaged in the project.

Peter Holmes is a one-time Trustee and adjoining landowner farmer who is a sixth generation New Zealander on his mother's side and a second generation one on his paternal side. His dairy farm lies on land his immigrant grandfather farmed. From a sociocultural standpoint he considers himself to be 'New Zealander': "I'm not Māori so, so um, culturally, yeah, I mean I'm, just I think I'm…New Zealand really. Just comes back to that. I'm nothing else. Yeah, I'm not English" (recorded interview, 24 May 2011, Pukeatua). On the topic he remarked:

> …whilst we were sheep and beef farming, it was pretty easy, it didn't affect the land anywhere near as much as dairying does— dairying is quite intensive. But more and more I think the pressure is on to feed the world…without dairying this country would be in big trouble. So, as much as people say, yeah, the detrimental effects of dairying might have on the land, without it I don't think we would be in a good state. You know, I don't think it's really doing immeasurable amount of damage, we're affecting our waterways to some extent, but, you know were doing our best to clean that up. We're improving our effluent management all the time. [recorded interview, 24 May 2011, Pukeatua]

Eric (a pseudonym), who identifies as Māori and a member of a local hapu with connections to Maungatautari, lives in a rural area close to the maunga. Over his life he has been involved in farming. In response to the topic, he said:

> …up until now I think it's been a way of life, New Zealand's way of life…, farming, everyone here depends on it… …to be able to make a stand like Maungatautari…putting a fence around it and saying 'no more', I think it's a really good start for us. And then having all these other…places like Tiritiri Matangi[1] and…all the other places, I think it's really neat that we can say 'no more', and…it would be nice to reclaim a bit of it, but, it's just going to take years and years, but…I can tell in the last five years…on Maungatautari the change in the flora and the fauna,…it's been incredible. [recorded interview, 23 Feb. 2012, location withheld]

Mike Montgomerie, a dairy farmer/adjoining landowner, divides his time between a farm at Maungatautari, another south of Hamilton, and a water filtration business. He grew up on a Waikato farm, was a lawyer for a time, then got into farming. He has served as a MEIT Trustee and in this role, has helped with financial concerns and personnel operations. He is not Māori and self identifies as a New Zealander, adamant that he is in no way European. On the topic, he reacted first with a deep belly laugh and then said that,

> There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that [farming] significantly degrades New Zealand's environment. …[Lake] Rotoiti is a classic point. When my father was a kid it was all surrounded by native Bush, the lake was pristine, didn't have any lakeweed in it… …most of the bush is gone, it's mostly farm around there, a lot of Māori land, they cleared it, …they've been farming it, but as soon as you clear it and start adding fertiliser, inevitably it ends up in the water…, you get to the point where you have these algae blooms… …look at the Waikato River, …you talk to the old people, they'll tell you, [they used to stand] on the bridges over the Waikato River and look down and see the bottom and sea trout swimming in it when they were kids.
>
> But at the same time without [farming], …you wouldn't be here, …ah look, I'm fundamentally a bit of a greenie but I'm also a farmer! So, it's a tough one to reconcile I'll tell you. ...they're not totally diametrically opposed, because I, I justify to myself that, at least I care. You're better off to be the farmer who cares and [tries] to moderate your practices, to look after your waterways and your soil and stuff, rather than the guy that doesn't care… [recorded interview, 5 Jul. 2011, Rukuhia]

[1] Tiritiri Matangi again is a small offshore island 30km northeast of Auckland in the Hauraki Gulf. Through volunteer efforts, in partnership with the Department of Conservation, its endemic plant and animal life have been restored, following a pest eradication effort. Key and iconic avifauna species have been restored there, which are easily spotted and observed in the still regenerating forests on the small island. Thus, it is a significant visitor and educational attraction for New Zealanders and tourists alike.

Grant and Wendy Jordan are adjoining landowner farmers on a southern slope of Maungatautari. They came up through the share-milking ladder, and this is the first farm they bought. Both were raised on farms in the Waitoki District, though Grant's farm work experience was more limited than hers. Wendy believes her settler ancestors were Irish, arriving here in 1860. Grant's great grandparents came from England, though he is not sure when. Both sets of their ancestors farmed, and those properties have continued as family farms. Grant related he is one quarter Rarotongan, as his mother, who was adopted into the family, was half Rarotongan. When we talked about cultural identity, Grant declared his wife was English. After we talked more about what culture really was, Wendy chimed in saying that she was New Zealand European, though she acknowledged that it was quite nebulous, explaining that Europe has been and remains extremely diverse culturally. Grant offered that Judeo-Christian thought heavily influences his way of life, but said determining a name for his culture and identity was something to "put in the too-hard basket" (recorded interview, 7 September 2011, Pukeatua). On the topic of farming's environmental effects they said:

> **Grant:** …because we grew up on farms…having productive land is all we know, in terms of our upbringing and so on, but like it, it's very nice to have a zoo in the vicinity, where you can go and see exotic animals and so on and so on. It is also very nice to have— and essential in fact— to have a sanctuary of this magnitude, …a bush sanctuary to…showcase what it used to be like before man set foot and so on. …I liken it to having a zoo or a museum…, it's the same sort of thing. It's conserving history.
> **Author:** Yeah, I like that expression, conserving history…
> **Wendy:** It's living history isn't it, really? Well, hopefully it will become living history. [recorded interview, 7 Sep. 2011, Pukeatua]

Juliette and David Wallace and I interacted via project activities on many occasions and I interviewed them at their home several times to learn about the project's history, how it all got started, their backgrounds, and their views on many aspects of the project and the community. It's important to note, however, that our interviews took place after a rift had developed between some in the project, and after David had resigned as board chairman.

During one of our interviews I raised the issue of farming and its effects on New Zealand's environment. Juliette responded first to my query, stating that

> if you look at it, the settlers came here, they cleared everything, they cleared the mountains, they cleared the hills…but…in time, those hills have been abandoned, they're too steep, they're reverting back, scrub's coming through, and now…we're realising that conservation, well, all that flora and fauna are part of our, are necessary for humans to

> actually survive. We in fact are part of the ecology as well, we're not isolated, we're not looking down, we're not the be all and end all, we are actually part of it. And if we do not look after the natural vegetation, that's where I think we come from, then we are as a species lost… …and I get heartened by…the younger generation really, who are passionate about this… [recorded interview, 1 Jul. 2011, Karapiro]

After Juliette related all that she wanted to, David explained his views:

> But that's a modern enlightened view, and Juliette and I would only have come to the view in the last fifteen years. …after the Second World War…the New Zealand government had…tens of thousands of [veterans] coming back… …what did they do with all these young men…? …they had this vast central pumice plateau, …[covered in] manuka…standing…a bit higher than this roof here, but not trees… …returnees were settled on that land, now, a lot of it is very good farmland… …I don't blame my grandmothers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers...they came to New Zealand and they did what they thought was the right thing…they cut down the beautiful native bush. …we've had a profound effect on the environment with everything we've done here, especially in relation to agriculture, because we have cleared so much of the lowland forest… The late Geoff Park, he said Maungatautari's one of the few lowland forests left…, two thirds of Maungatautari he would class as lowland forest. …and so they're precious [because] they're more fecund, but we've cleared them…

Juliette chimed in: "But that was the value, that was the work ethic, and that was our value…coming from Scotland you know, and creating wealth and creating a better lifestyle, basically." David then continued:

> …we have the starving millions, you see, the [19]60s and [19]70s, I think were the very height of the green revolution, that's converting native land into cropping land or lifestyle farming land, we thought we were heroes, and we were, we were looked up to, everybody said you've got to feed the hungry world…a mission for us, drain the peat swamps, cut down the forest, get it into pasture.

David then explained that in the land development work he has been engaged in for much of his life, he and his family came to value native bush. He emphasised the seminal importance they placed on DOC's Breaksea Island pest eradication programme, its native bird recovery efforts and Geoff Park's warning of a dwindling New Zealand conservation estate. These things, he said, reminded him of time spent on his great uncle's farm on Maungatautari and worked to change his views. He then invoked other developments in New Zealand as evidence of a wider attitude shift:

> …other good things are happening too, you know, for instance, there is this farm environment award now and there is a whole lot of good stuff going on, especially in the dairy industry, to try and care for the environment better, but, we are stuck with what we've got, we did drain the peat swamps, we did crush the bush, too much of it, we've just got to look forward and find a way of preserving what ecology we've got left.

Sue Reid was raised in a rural area of South Otago and has over her life lived in various areas on both islands. Professionally, she is an educator and has volunteered in conservation efforts elsewhere. Her paternal ancestors came to the South Island from Scotland around 1850 and farmed. Her maternal ancestors also came from Scotland in the late 1890s when her grandparents relocated their family here. She could think of no adequate name or label for her sociocultural identity or her culture. She related she feels that as a people, as a nation, they are in the process of developing a culture. This hinges, she remarked, to some degree on people accepting Māori ways. In talking about non-Māori New Zealanders, however, she used the term 'Pākehā'. On the topic of farming and its effects on New Zealand's environment she remarked:

> It's very interesting because having been involved so long at Tiritiri Matangi,…they were getting a lot more (until Maungatautari started), …tuis and other things…around Auckland City and we had been here, off and on…in Te Awamutu [from] [19]73' so, we'd never seen a tui in town until Maungatautari. …so…they were getting them up there and…it's got to be something to do with the intensive farming around here, it's got to be something to do with, maybe sprays, the things that are used on farms… [recorded interview, 24 May 2012, Te Awamutu]

Bill Garland, an adjoining landowner farmer profiled in a previous chapter, who asserts he is a New Zealander of European ancestry, had this to say on the topic:

> Well, I think that we can't dwell on the fact that the land was cleared. It was not only cleared from farming but it was cleared when Māori, the natural resources were depleted and they had to look at growing crops, I mean they changed from hunter-gatherers to growing crops so, so that's the evolution of the human race, and of course…[what] the Europeans that colonised New Zealand were doing, was not a lot different, we were simply clearing the land to grow food for Europe, well initially to…
>
> We can say that…the human race has had a big impact on the natural environment— I think you can run the two parallel,…you can still protect those remnant areas of biodiversity. But you can also add some value that wasn't there before. We open our farm up to all sorts of people, so pretty much every day, or every week at least, people are using the farm for recreational purposes, whether it be riding horses or all sorts of activities, some people camp…
>
> …we've added some value but at the same time we are doing our level best to

> protect what's left and enhance what's left… …and this country's really forgiving— if you plant trees that will attract birds, well then that'll restore itself quite quickly. [recorded interview, 20 May 2011, Kairangi]

Discussion

I brought up this subject and question in interviews as I wanted to find out what project participants, relative to their sociocultural background, think about the relationship farming has to the broader environment, and by extension, the need for biodiversity conservation in New Zealand. Whether participants were Mana Whenua or Pākehā, most acknowledged that intensive agriculture in New Zealand has forever altered the landscape, deteriorated the environment, and contributed to reduced numbers of endemic species. Peter Holmes, Eric, and Mike Montgomerie stressed philosophically that, in one form or another, New Zealand as a nation financially depends on farming and added that there was a need to provide food to the world. In common, the three of them are involved in local farms and have had significant roles in the MEIT project, though only Eric is Mana Whenua and does not own a farm. David Wallace also remarked that settler families and generations after them needed to farm for work and food, and to feed the world, and in doing so, altered New Zealand's landscape. Such work, he said, had high social value to it. Juliette Wallace added that settlers' clearing of land and farms reduced habitat that endemic species needed, and agreed with David, explaining that settlers' values differed then— land bent to human needs and to create wealth, was a worthy pursuit for them— implying altered or different values now exist.

Some, like Grant Jordan, provided an evasive response and never directly answered the question. Rather, he focused on the value of conservation and Maungatautari's contribution to this effort. Even so, his assertion that such reserves are essential to 'showcase what New Zealand was like before anthropogenic change' asserts a human-centric view and acknowledges that human action in New Zealand— the conversion of forests and bush to farmland— has been deleterious to the environment and endemic species. Fellow adjoining landowner Bill Garland directly acknowledged settlers' clearing of land for farming as a key factor in the country's biodiversity crisis, but pointed out, as a few others did, that Māori also cleared land, destroying habitat in the process, to create a means to produce food. Those with a less direct connection to farming, such as Sue Reid, expressed a more hard-line view of farming, strongly implicating it in avifauna biodiversity losses. She expressed no concomitant discourse concerning the need for a livelihood or to feed the world and instead highlighted

recent successes achieved in local conservation projects, alluding to the power of collective volunteerism.

Predominately, participants viewed farming and its products as a requisite part of their country's existence as well as something good and desirable, despite its historically negative effects on endemic species and the environment. Interestingly, in these exchanges no one mentioned the introduction of non-endemic species which became pests, and their outsized role in endemic species loss. Those more directly connected with farming often asserted that modern farmers can farm, and are farming, in more environmentally-friendly ways than farmers of previous generations. However, they asserted that separate spaces, such as reserves, were needed to offset both past and present effects of intensive farming. Regardless of sociocultural background or identity, participants commonly identified past farming in New Zealand as a contributor to current biodiversity problems, but also allowed, in some form, for both farming and biodiversity conservation to be practised in parallel in an ever more effective, or at least less detrimental, interrelationship.

Uniqueness and New Zealand Society

To gather a sense of how participants view themselves and their society set against the world, I asked participants to relate what they felt distinguished New Zealand's society and culture from others around the globe. I felt that their responses would elicit some discourse, notions and terms which they cognise as markers for themselves and all New Zealanders and provide some views they hold of their own society and culture. I anticipated this information could enrich the research, better delineate stakeholder group self-conceptualisations.

Gordon Blake, profiled in a previous chapter, responded that

> …we're very much do-it-yourself type of people…either modernize or [fix up] their house or do up roads…do a lot of their own mechanical work, build their own fences, build their own terraces, decks and that's something I think…most New Zealanders enjoy. Build our own boats! …as far as yachting goes, too, we're pretty good. No, I think we're, for the size of our nation, not just in rugby, but in a whole host of areas, in the sporting arena, we're pretty successful and…I think for a nation, pretty competitive. [recorded interview, 13 Dec. 2011, Tirau]

Richard Johnstone, who I often worked alongside on the maunga and who became a Trustee while I was there, has done cattle and sheep farming and now lives on a lifestyle block. His great grandfather came to New Zealand from Scotland, settling in the Raglan area. He and his family over generations have been involved in farming and politics at all levels. Culturally, he identifies with and prefers the term 'New Zealander'. For him, New Zealanders

> …can be very generous and we can be totally bigoted. I mean you've only got to look at what happened in the World Cup in the rugby, don't you, to see the extremes of attitude in our reaction to some of the tourists. I think that we do…have an inferiority complex— look at the way we respond to the Aussies, you know the 'bigger brother', and so we sometimes sort of cringe over that but then the reaction, when we're trying to prove that we're not a little brother… [recorded interview, 14 Dec. 2011, Cambridge]

Alan Livingston, former mayor of WDC and Trustee in the project, was raised in Gisborne and the Waikato on sheep and cattle farms, has worked in banking, lived abroad, and farmed in the Waikato. His ancestors came from Scotland to make new lives. They settled on the North Island and began farming on land that remains in the family. He has, throughout his life, given much of his time to service positions in the community, which led to his mayoral position. When time permits, he still works his farm and enjoys the occasional golf game. From a sociocultural standpoint he identifies with the term 'New Zealander', acknowledging that it also is the term for his nationality. On the current topic, he related:

> We've got a…distinct Māori culture, which a lot of other countries haven't got, an indigenous culture as such, I suppose. …The fact that we had so many sheep and, we're supposedly clean and green. …but we are…adaptable people, within the nation, I guess that's shown through by the relatively high number people that have succeeded in innovative areas, compared with, worldwide. Yeah I guess it comes back to…our heritage, where we had to make do with what we had or be innovative to achieve certain things. [recorded interview, 15 Aug. 2011, Te Awamutu]

Robyn Nightingale grew up in the rural Parawera area southwest of Maungatautari. She attended university and for most of her working life held a public service position. She has served as Parawera's Marae representative as a Trustee on MEIT's board. She identifies as Raukawa with tribal connections to Ngāti Mahanga, Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Haua, and Ngāti Hikairo. When I introduced the topic of distinguishing elements of New Zealand society and culture, she provided an allegory that likened Kiwis (i.e. all New Zealanders) to salmon. They all start life here, she explained, and gain an innate strength from it, which is a 'Kiwi culture'.

Afterward, they do venture out and away, though they experience an awakening: "there is this desire to return to that stream…you may have forgotten, but there is that source. And in that source is your history, and in that source is your strength" (recorded interview, 24 February 2012, Parawera). For her, what characterised 'Kiwi culture' was

> It's degrees of separation, isolation. It is space. And it's that space, physical and spiritually and mentally, to grow or to be that without being thought of as being too strange— you can still be as different as you choose to be. The choices are…still there and peer pressure and the larger pressures that we find in some larger communities outside of New Zealand, they don't play too much on the New Zealand, the Kiwi psyche. [recorded interview, 24 Feb. 2012, Parawera]

Discussion

I posed the question of what distinguishes New Zealand's people or society from all others in the world to discover what participants would express about themselves, their society and culture, and what they would invoke as markers of any perceived or asserted sociocultural distinctiveness. Many participants, like Gordon Blake and Alan Livingston, invoked the idea that New Zealanders are very adaptable and able to do well at most anything, with some mentioning a 'No. 8 wire' mentality, referring to a wire gauge farmers use on sheep and cattle fences. In other words, because of its settler heritage, they felt New Zealanders have sufficiently broad experience and ingenuity to solve most any problem. This sentiment is also presented in expressions, like those Robyn Nightingale provided, which characterised New Zealanders as individualists. Others, like Richard Johnstone, believe New Zealanders to be generous, but also bigoted, and saddled with an inferiority complex relative to a world stage. I found this sentiment often expressed relative to New Zealand's position on the periphery, being far from the world's centres of power and commerce, and in conjunction with its relatively small population. Curiously, Mana Whenua participants did not mention the presence of themselves, an indigenous people, or their culture, as a unique element of New Zealand's sociocultural milieu, but others did, such as Alan Livingston. Robyn Nightingale, of Raukawa, did mention that their 'kiwi culture' was unique: an expression that may tacitly recognise the presence of Māori and their culture, but which sees and props up an all-encompassing sociocultural milieu in New Zealand.

These sentiments collectively represent the range of those expressed by those I interviewed. Often, when I asked the question, participants took some time to think about it or were a little perplexed at the request. In these instances, I found myself qualifying the request by asking what they might explain to others, when travelling abroad, on the matter of what makes New Zealand's society and people unique in the world. By their responses, the importance of being a settler-derived society figures prominently. This sentiment, embodied in the 'No. 8 wire' notion, stems from the condition of New Zealand being a settler nation on the periphery, and one built on and around farming. Incidentally, most participants had experience of either living or working on farms, or being around them, and most felt comfortable in doing whatever work needed to be done. Many had vegetable gardens of one size or another and regularly supplemented their diet with its produce. Using the land, making it productive, through one's experience and persistence, seemed to be a badge of honour. Connected to this 'settler-heritage adaptability' is a notion of non-conformity, an individuality and a need to prove to others on a world stage that they are more than capable of excelling at a global level. Among those Mana Whenua I interviewed this 'settler' angle was not expressed. However the 'periphery' notion was: Nightingale mentioned it, as others did, when relating that New Zealand's physical separation meant that those here, starting with Māori and including initial British settlers and succeeding waves of colonisers and their progeny, survived on their own perseverance and ingenuity, and that they existed in a space that largely permitted independent growth and development. The twin themes of 'settler heritage adaptability' and 'periphery-enabled independence and non-conformity' are the two most prevalent and powerful self-conceptualisations participants espoused as markers for themselves and their society.

The presence of these two self-conceptualisations of their society can in a number of ways affect multi-stakeholder relations and biodiversity conservation efforts in a project such as Maungatautari. These two themes seem to fit well together. Both access notions of uniqueness, capability, and independence. In debate and decision-making processes, this commonality can be emphasised by stakeholder groups to produce some common ground. Far from minimising or trivialising the respective sociocultural distinctiveness they each wish to stress, this common conceptual ground can be put to effective use in the Trust and project. Indeed, I believe it already has. In interviews and conversations with members of each major stakeholder group, they stress the uniqueness of the project. They take pride in the sanctuary Maungatautari has become because of their collective perseverance and ingenuity. Such sentiment lies behind each and every animal reintroduction. The themes also seemed to be

present in the acknowledged herculean effort required to rid the maunga of all mammalian pests and predators.

In instances of dissonance based on sociocultural difference, these two self-conceptualisations on the strength of the shared notions underlying them could be used to maintain lines of communication, facilitate mutual understanding, and produce decisions the two groups could jointly endorse. In relating these self-conceptualisations, they reveal that they value them. This is another reason they could be useful. For example, take the Department of Discovery proposal meeting, wherein an outside tourism developer was posited as the entity to create a cultural and ecological experience for visitors. Stressing the need to be adaptable as well as independent, the parties could have agreed on need to keep the project adaptable by seeking new ways to generate revenue, including the proposed tourism venture. However, stressing these self-conceptualisations and the notions valued in them, would point both groups in the direction of generating the venture on their own, and developing a venture that was uniquely suited to the sociocultural needs of stakeholders and attuned to what Maungatautari is and what it offers.

Defining Developments for New Zealand

I asked participants what events and/or developments from the present to any point in the past they wished to go, which they felt were important or defining for New Zealand as a society and as a place and why they judged them to be significant. I anticipated this would provide responses which would reveal what events or developments participants viewed as having an outsized effect on New Zealand, and see what values were associated with these events or developments and ascertain whether they were linked to project aspects.

Stephen (a pseudonym) is a steady volunteer in the project. He grew up in New Zealand and lived in various places on both main islands. His father, who was British, came over from Cornwall and started off doing some accountancy work, but then became a minister. Stephen worked in a profession that required a good mind and skill with his hands. Since retirement he concentrates on his gardens and MEIT projects on and off the maunga, often devoting his expertise and tools to the effort. He identifies culturally as a New Zealander or a ‘Kiwi’.

In our exchange on the topic, Stephen related his views:

> **Stephen:** The biggest one I think, probably is this earthquake, Christchurch earthquake, but there's been other earthquakes… …Napier earthquake… Because…the whole country would pull together…to help the ones that [were] damaged. I hesitated mentioning the Treaty of Waitangi because I'm not sure that that's all that effective.
> **Author:** Well, [these events or developments don't] have to be 'good' or 'bad'…
> **Stephen:** Held…hold it that high in esteem. I'm not so sure that the people who signed it understood what was happening and whether the people that wrote it, wrote it honestly. …I think it was meant to bring, bring the different races together, I'm not sure if it's actually complicated things more, particularly with land, the understanding of ownership is completely different between Europeans and Māoris. I don't think the Europeans understood, even now understand what ownership of land means to Māori, in that the Māoris actually looked [i.e. viewed], they were part of the land…the land doesn't physically belong to them or anybody… [recorded interview, 12 Dec. 2011, Cambridge]

Tao Tauroa, profiled in the previous chapter, had this to say about defining events for New Zealand society and culture:

> Oh, well the one that springs to mind I suppose is the Treaty of Waitangi, which was signed in 1840. ...Aotearoa is a country still trying to deal with that issue. …and that's been defining…, how New Zealand has…developed as a country, whether or not the… Treaty has been adhered to, you know, where we're still grappling…with many issues that I think are probably misunderstood. …I think that's probably the most defining moment… …because it's still unresolved today. And the longer we leave it…the worse it could get and…that's a huge worry [because] I think basically we're, we're, have minimal racial disharmony in New Zealand. I think there are people who confuse breaches, you know, with what they believe is racism…what real racism is. … at the time [of the Treaty signing] it would have been a normal agreement between two groups of people and so, I guess what we have learned over time is that, what developed out of that was…a means to dispossess the natives of their lands, mostly. I think New Zealand would have been quite a different place…if the Treaty was adhered to from day one. [recorded interview, 25 Jul. 2012, Puekatua]

Rod Millar, who has been profiled in a previously, related a few things relative to this topic and question:

> Well, when we took the land off the Bros [i.e. Māori] eh? …I think it was definitely defining. Yeah, absolutely because that's what brought Europeans to New Zealand— the potential of land and…if there wasn't opportunities here then there wouldn't be as anywhere near the number of people who have come here. …without that opportunity of land I think New Zealand would be a different place. …well I guess you've got to say the wars don't you… World War II in particular because I know more about it than I do

> the First World War, but New Zealand's commitment to America, for argument's sake, and England— that brought huge benefits to New Zealand because there was Americans living here which built infrastructure and did all sorts of things… [recorded interview, 8 Jul. 2011, Cambridge]

Margaret Gascoigne and I met when we volunteered together on the 'Meet n' Greet' team. We greeted visitors to the Southern Enclosure and provided them with information. Her ancestors came from Britain to New Zealand as early as 1822; several others came out around the middle of that century. She grew up in Northland, and after marrying, she and her husband went into dairy farming as share-milkers. Culturally, she identifies as a New Zealander, which she describes as a shared culture that now incorporates the culture Māori and settlers brought with them. Concerning the topic at hand, this was our exchange:

> **Margaret:** Hmm, well of course the war, the first and second world wars.
> **Author:** Why were those important and defining for New Zealand?
> **Margaret:** …because…it pulled people together [with] a common purpose. We were striving for the same thing, it didn't matter whether we were rich or poor, Māori or Pākehā.
> **Author:** So, seems like it was something that helped to forge, and unified New Zealand as a nation more?
> **Margaret:** …and, major events like the Napier earthquake, of course the Christchurch earthquake, those major tragedies.
> **Author:** How do you think they have been important or defining for New Zealand?
> **Margaret:** They will become more aware the fleeting nature of life and the things that we probably place too much importance in, like personal possessions and buildings and things. …there's been, you know, political moves, the social welfare, that's made a big difference to a lot of people. …yes, natural disasters…and worldwide disasters like a world war, and government intervention… …the fact that we still can't pull together after all this length of time…you know, there's a 'them' and 'us' about so much that takes place… [recorded interview, 22 Jun. 2012, Cambridge]

Discussion

Another question or topic I broached with participants had them relate what they felt were the most important or defining events or developments for New Zealand as a society and place. I wanted to gather responses which address not only how they viewed New Zealand and what has affected it in their minds and why, relative to their sociocultural background, but also to ascertain whether the Treaty of Waitangi would be considered in this list. The responses provide insight into how participants viewed such things as land, the Treaty and the settlements process, New Zealand's society, and the effects of wars and earthquakes.

Stephen, who self identifies as a New Zealander or a 'Kiwi', first mentioned major catastrophes, such as the Christchurch earthquakes which levelled much of that town in 2010 and 2011. These events, with the recurrent aftershocks and the ongoing reconstruction effort, no doubt were heavily on people's minds when most interviews took place in 2011 and 2012. Next, he included the Treaty, opining its existence derived from the intent to bridge two races together, and related that it affected New Zealander's perceptions of land and 'ownership' of land. Tao Tauroa, at my question, immediately said the Treaty was a defining development for New Zealand, specifically in that it was not honoured for so long span and Māori were consequentially dispossessed of land. Moreover, he mentioned that the current working out of settlements between Treaty parties and their relationship, constituted an important and defining development for New Zealand as a place and a society. Rod Millar concurred on these points. In answering the question, he first mentioned the dispossession of land from Māori in connection with European settlement, and included New Zealand's alliance with the United Kingdom and the U.S. as it brought the country into the world wars and thereby stimulated further development and modernisation in the country. Margaret Gascoigne likewise suggested the world wars heavily influenced New Zealand, but for differing reasons: to her, they united New Zealand's peoples. She continued in this vein and related that the recent Christchurch quakes were also defining events as in her mind they helped Kiwis anew get past an 'us' and 'them' mentality.

Clearly, the Treaty of Waitangi, vis-à-vis what it means for New Zealand, the litany of breaches, and the claim and settlement processes, constitutes an event or development most considered to be very important or defining for New Zealand. However, it must be acknowledged that when most interviews were conducted factions existed in the community relative to NKK's Treaty claim settlement, potentially including a return of all public lands on Maungatautari to NKK. Again, this potential development and the then recent restructuring of MEIT, along with Mana Whenua's increased role in the project's management, meant that Treaty claims, and especially NKK's claim, were dividing people into two camps throughout the community— some would accept Maungatautari being included in NKK's settlement, whilst others, who felt Māori in general were overreaching, would not. Most of those I interviewed of a Pākehā sociocultural background spoke of the Treaty as a document, or manoeuvre, intended to unify Māori and British settlers, and/or something that was token, which as a result, was first used, then ignored and flouted, with the result that settlers and the government obtained land. Mana Whenua participants, not surprisingly, focused on land dispossession and current Treaty redress via settlements.

However, some Mana Whenua members, surprisingly, did not even mention the Treaty in answer to my question. Even so, most participants, whether Mana Whenua or Pākehā, indicated that the Treaty and the processes associated with it— dispossession, claims, and settlements— were the single most defining event or development for New Zealand as a society and as a place.

In this, they acknowledged a few things. Via the Treaty, or ambivalence or malevolence toward it, settlers found a place to put down roots. Significant portions of land changed hands over ensuing decades and into the following century. Māori over this time period adopted some aspects of Western culture, were acculturated, and at other times, were assimilated culturally, as well as socially and physically. They became a marginalised, indigenous group in the country. All of this was tacitly, if not expressly, acknowledged.

Further, because agricultural production blankets the Waikato region and much of the country, no matter where one lives in New Zealand agricultural production is close in one way or another. This makes such land and farm production a ready instrument with which to analyse an individual's connection to others in society, past and present. It highlights the ways in which people are connected to one another and the land. This 'tangibility of land' connects easily, effortlessly, to the Treaty and all its contemporary processes, and through them, to the Treaty's signatory groups made present. Given the notions and expressions participants provided, the Treaty, via modern processes implementing its principles and making redress, figures prominently as a defining event and development for New Zealand both as a society and as a place.

The other major assertion routinely expressed was the effect of the world wars. Some felt they brought about new levels of sociocultural unity in the country, and/or accelerated development, infrastructure growth, farming and more. Whether this view of 'unity' included Māori as a strand of this societal fabric is not certain. However, given the monocultural lens through which most of New Zealand's history is written and viewed, it is safe to say many view this 'increased unity' was one that considers Māori to have become more socially unified. Given the economic and physical threats posed by the opposing Central Powers to them due to their reliance on, and membership in, the British Empire, it is easy to allow that groups within a society would collaborate, at the least, out of shared concerns for self-preservation. The situation would have no doubt produced a feeling of facing a common threat and carrying a common burden for most, if not all, of New Zealand's citizens. That one in five of those who left to serve in the war did not return— a large figure proportionate to the less than one million total inhabitants of the islands at the time— bears out the fact that a

burden was felt in a direct, long-felt and tangible way. In this milieu, it is likely that acculturation of Māori in New Zealand accelerated given the need for all in the society to work for common interests and mutual survival. Perhaps some viewed society-wide engagement in the war effort, and Māori acculturation as unity, or an increasing unity. However, an argument can be made that a sharing of wartime burdens and pressures in New Zealand among its peoples cannot erase or permanently obscure sociocultural distinctiveness, culture, or quell feelings of angst, resentment or desires for redress despite whatever level of acculturation or assimilation Tangata Whenua experienced.

Interestingly, whether Mana Whenua or Pākehā, participants discussed events in ways that focused on the status and nature of the relationship between Māori and other New Zealanders. The Christchurch earthquakes and the world wars were discussed relative to their effect on unity in their society. When the Treaty of Waitangi was mentioned, explanations were given which asserted that it came about to bridge European and Maori races, or comment focused on how it was involved in the ways Māori were treated by settlers and/or the government vis-à-vis land and resources. What was commonly valued about these events and developments was their effect on interrelations between the sociocultural groups, relative to values such as harmony, restoring relationships through readdress, and unity through acknowledgment of a common, shared plight or experience.

The Treaty of Waitangi, Conservation, and the MEIT Project

Due to national debate and concerns pertaining to Treaty claims and settlements, and the claim lodged by NKK which involved both the Waikato River and Maungatautari, I asked participants to share their views on what role, if any, the Treaty of Waitangi had relative to conservation generally and/or in the MEIT project. The pattern of Treaty settlements elsewhere, wherein Crown land was routinely awarded to Māori, meant that in the case of Maungatautari a Treaty claim settlement had the potential to significantly impact stakeholder relations and cultural politics in MEIT, and the direction of the project itself. Thus, I broached the topic to elicit responses which could indicate whether and in what way participants linked Treaty obligations, and the relationship it espouses between Tangata Whenua and Pākehā, to conservation and the project itself, and what discourse or rhetoric was used relative to these notions.

On 13 May 2011 I interviewed Beverly and Bruce Dean at their farm home, on Maungatautari's northern slope. Bruce has served as a landowner trustee and Bev quite often attended Trust meetings her husband took part in. They are adjoining landowner farmers, and have operated a cattle and sheep business there from 1984. The farm, which includes Māori block land they lease, used to be the farm that David Wallace visited in his youth. It was sold to the Deans by Wallace's relatives, whose family established it in 1914. The farm, with the Māori block land, has about 1.8km of project fence on it, with 1km on Dean land. The bush on it, they said, made it an attractive place for them to buy, as they liked the farm's layout and the fact that they could easily go and tramp in the bush there. Living there has had its challenges: Bruce used to have to shoot out possums and goats in the bush to prevent them from spreading tuberculosis to cattle and ravaging his farm's trees.

Bruce has farmed his entire life; he has not done anything else. Both sides of his family for generations have been farmers. He was raised near Otorohanga in the Waikato on a farm his father was raised on. He related that in his youth the bush forest at the back of their farm was contiguous all the way to Taupo, though now, only a little remains, such as the Pureora forest. If he had to guess, he said, he is a third generation New Zealander. Whilst he knows little of his family history, he is aware that his maternal ancestors came from Australia and his father's mother settled on the South Island's west coast where her family engaged in gold mining.

Beverly was born and raised in Hamilton. Her mother came from England around 1906. Her father relocated from Canada at age twelve. Her family, she said, didn't talk much about family relations or history. Her family rarely saw relatives, as they were spread throughout the country and outside of it. Whilst growing up, family vacations were stays at a beach house. She relishes the relative peace of their farm life (though when young she vowed she would never marry a farmer), in contrast to the busy urban environment she was raised in. She met Bruce through a youth hostel club, and discovered their mutual enjoyment of tramping via excursions the club arranged. The excursions acquainted her with the bush, though she admits, she still favours the beach. She has, however, been a member of Forest and Bird Society, and got Bruce to become one as well. Fretting over New Zealand's declining flora and fauna got them to be more active in the society and prompted them to establish three QEII blocks, one of which now sits behind the MEIT fence. From a sociocultural standpoint, they identify as New Zealanders; they dislike the term 'Pākehā', which they consider derogatory.

On the subject of whether the Treaty has a role in conservation in the country and/or in the MEIT project, Bev and Bruce had this to say:

> **Bruce:** Well, [the Treaty] has an important role, at the present time I suppose, allowing more iwi involvement in the project.
> **Bev:** What, you're just talking about the project? Hmm…
> **Bruce:** Yeah, as far as the project goes. …some don't see it that way, but hopefully in a positive way if what the…
> **Bev:** Well of course [hapu/NKK] had the claim…long before the project came along anyway, …but as far as Treaty claims throughout New Zealand, I haven't always been in agreement with them. I've sort of thought, …when you are talking about the beaches and all that, that [they're] for everybody. And sometimes I have thought that some of their claims are a bit over the edge. But then and I think, …some parts of New Zealand, especially Taranaki and that, I think the iwi were,…did have cause to…
> **Bruce:** …and the Waikato
> **Bev:** …and the Waikato, …which was land that was taken off them you know…
> **Bruce:** You will have studied that a little bit I suppose Matt, Taranaki…
> **Bev:** …I think, to move forward…it's just something that's in place and…going to have to hope that…the outcome is going to be…good for everybody. And, and I do think…it's possibly giving the local iwi…a focus and maybe an inspiration, inspires them…to be a bit more involved…you know, decision-making…, and maybe they might feel…, that it really is part of them, just like it's part of everyone else that's involved really. It's...
> **Bruce:** Hmm, my feelings as well I would say. [recorded interview, 13 May 2011, Karapiro]

Tao Tauroa, of NKK and an adjoining landowner farmer, had the following discussion with me concerning the Treaty's role amid conservation in New Zealand:

> **Tao:** Well, actually, for us likely the Treaty probably doesn't play any role whatsoever…
> **Author:** Hmm, that's interesting. Well, why do you think it doesn't?
> **Tao:** …although, it has been used wrongfully…by some of…the Pākehā farmers who have seen the Treaty as a threat…
> **Author:** …I guess by extension we can include in [this topic], the Treaty settlement process as well, because that's connected to the Treaty…
> **Tao:** Yeah… The process whereby the Crown looks for possible redress through monetary value, through land value, or whatever value they can, as redress, happened to include Maungatautari mountain or the Crown's interests on the mountain.
> **Author:** …in Trust meetings…yourself and Karaitiana and others…speak of the principles of the Treaty, and in that same conversation they talk about the principles… having some sort of application or relevance to…MEIT…and the project. What do you think of that?
> **Tao:** Well, the way the Trust has been affected is that, the Crown has offered— okay, the Trust business is focused, or it's entirely on Maungatautari mountain okay? The Trust doesn't actually own anything except for a fence that was built on other people's land, okay? So the, when the Trust offered its share of Maungatautari, or when the Crown

> offered its share of their owned property on Maungatautari, it then involved MEIT because MEIT, although it didn't have an official ownership on Maungatautari, its business, …involves Maungatautari. [recorded interview, 25 Jul. 2012, Pukeatua]

After Tao explained that the Crown is simply offering Crown land on Maungatautari back to Māori as redress and that Māori do not want the whole mountain or to control things, he concluded that some people just did not understand this. I then asked the question again, rephrasing it a little, asking whether the Treaty, its principles, and Treaty negotiations, have any role to play in New Zealand conservation, and if so, in what way. Tao then asserted that many of the Crown's land assets are designated as conservation reserves and this land he said is conserved only because it is ill-suited to farming. I then asked if he felt the Treaty had a role in relationships between entities and stakeholder groups. He affirmed it does, explaining the Crown has recognised it breached the Treaty and it is actively settling grievances. Then, after declaring that "Māori are, have always been, conservationists", he explained that

> Because we have been dispossessed from our natural Māori being [read 'way of life'], …we weren't…able to practice that because we've always been subservient to…the ravages of…colonialism, …and I guess from that point of view it's very difficult for Māori to assert their place in conservation. [recorded interview, 25 Jul. 2012, Pukeatua]

John Younger, a farmer and project volunteer, who was also profiled in a previous chapter, addressed this question succinctly and in a matter-of-fact way:

> It probably does…because virtually, part of one of the wording, is that, the fact that they'd have the rights to the land and waterways. Some of them were taken away from them and so parts of things like Maungatautari is going to be given back if the Treaty claim goes ahead on it. Yeah, I, I'd say …it definitely has a place and the fact of conservation— even the Māori people realize how important the plants in that are …on the mountain, and other mountains that have been protected. [recorded interview, 21 Jun. 2011, Horahora].

Ally Tairi, provided these thoughts on the topic:

> …personally I believe that as Māori have become more educated, they have learned to turn that around on pake [i.e. Pākehā], it was a pake initiative and as Māori have become more educated it's become that much harder for pake to hide behind that and silence us. In terms of the project or conservation— but then of course we've got a whole lot of clever dickies and government, so with all these Treaty claims, they see a way to maybe kill two birds with one stone. Because there is no two ways about it, they have to address it. And because Māori, even though a lot don't know it, we're all conservationists

at heart… [recorded interview, 10 Oct. 2011, Cambridge]

John and the late Kerry Payne have been volunteers for the project both on and off the maunga. His mother's ancestors came to Christchurch from the Shetland Isles in 1874 and ended up in Dunedin, where they were labourers and tradespeople. On his paternal side, his grandfather was adopted, so little is known there. He grew up in Dunedin and recalls that in his youth he wanted to get into farming. Kerry's ancestors came from Britain and the Shetland Isles. Her great, great grandfather immigrated to Timaru on the South Island in 1878, making her a fifth generation New Zealander. After serving in WWII, her father received a ballot farm in Northland, which she grew up on. Kerry and John's careers started early and they both worked for the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, giving forty and forty-two years respectively. Culturally, they accept the label of Kiwi or European New Zealanders, citing the can-do-anything No. 8 wire mentality as the culture's most indicative characteristic.

Relative to the Treaty and any role it may or may not have in New Zealand conservation and/or the MEIT project, this conversation ensued:

> **John:** It does because…any land that is government owned, but a separate requirement under the Treaty, is given back to the local iwi...
> **Kerry:** They have the opportunity.
> **John:** They have the opportunity, and that includes a lot of conservation land, like Maungatautari is part of the Treaty settlement. …what worries me, and I'll give you a very good example of this…: the Raglan golf course. The local Māori demanded its return, and it was a profitable golf course and they were going to take it back and they were going to basically farm it. That became scrub and gorse and rubbish within a matter of years and…it has never ever been utilized. And that's the worry, is, that if land under Treaty is given back to the Māori, I would like think that it is continued to be used in a profitable way for New Zealanders. If it's conservation land, let it be for the use of New Zealanders. If it's other land which is usable, let them use it for their own benefit …in the betterment of their own race or people. But hopefully for the betterment of New Zealand. And that's the only thing that worries me…
> **Kerry:** Well… I don't think exactly of the same, I mean, I don't mind the fact that… they have the opportunity to get the land back, because at least that means it doesn't go into foreign ownership.
> **John:** Oh, yeah, that's fair enough…
> **Kerry:** …but on the other hand, if you take this last election where Labour made this ruckus about the sale of assets, if some of the Treaty settlement money is used to invest in those assets, then that's good. But what happens then if in a couple of generations' time the tribes and the iwi who invested in those assets decide to sell them off because some rich overseas country comes and wants to buy them? Are we best, …are our assets best kept in New Zealand hands by being owned by the government or being owned by

> the Māori people of New Zealand? I don't know the answer to that. [recorded interview, 6 Dec. 2011, Cambridge]

Excluding 'land', I asked whether the Treaty had any other role to play in conservation. Kerry then replied saying

> …we're all, as good public servants, we are at least supposed to buy into the Treaty and okay, I might be a sixth generation New Zealander, but I'm a sixth generation European New Zealander. I don't admit to knowing a lot about the detail that's in the Treaty of Waitangi, and I'm supposed to uphold the values of the Treaty…without actually understanding exactly what they are? To me they are values that existed in 1840 and I'm not going to just apply them in that sense today. I want to know how it's appropriate to it, to provide for them in today's world. [recorded interview, 6 Dec. 2011, Cambridge]

Bill Garland, an adjoining landowner farmer profiled in the preceding chapter, had this to say on the Treaty and conservation:

> Well it, there's a general role in that, that where there's management of a DOC estate, Māori…have rights in the Treaty, in terms of that management, …and I think that's well understood with Maungatautari, that there is a right there to be consulted on matters in regard to the Crown land, the management of it. …that consultation not only includes how the biodiversity is managed but any tourist concessions and tracking and all, …so any development…of the Crown land, and of course obviously the re-introductions, translocations, all that sort of thing. Māori have to be consulted with and…give the go-ahead…for translocation of any species. …I don't think it was well understood by most people…, that Māori did have rights in terms of management of the Crown land… [recorded interview, 20 May 2011, Kairangi]

Shirley (a pseudonym), profiled in the foregoing chapter, self-identifies socio-culturally as Māori. Regarding the topic, she explained that

> …DOC protects the mountain eh, and all the animals and things like that, …we then have to make sure that we abide by that ruling that they put in there…, but we are just overseeing, and the good thing about it, if [hapu] do get [rohe area] back, is that we have a say, you know like if they go and someone runs a tourist venture in the Waikato River, they've got to ask us, which is all we ask for really, and…they have got to prove that it's not going to damage our waterways…, …we get a say…and that's what we really want… [recorded interview, 26 Jul. 2012, location withheld]

Discussion

The question and topic explored in this section was one I devised to ascertain whether project participants saw a role for the Treaty in conservation throughout the country and specifically in the MEIT project, and if so, in what ways. Primarily, I was interested in determining whether participants from differing sociocultural backgrounds were associating the Treaty and its provisions with conservation writ large in the country and/or with the MEIT project, and with multi-stakeholder collaboration and partnership in the project. Of all the topics examined to this point, this one brought about the most common response, indicating broad agreement in how participants viewed the Treaty relative to project multi-stakeholder collaboration, Māori cultural rights and biodiversity conservation.

The Deans stated that the Treaty encouraged and made possible an increased Mana Whenua presence and involvement in the MEIT project, which by extension, ensured that their needs and positions are voiced. Bill Garland expressed a similar view. The Treaty, he explained, provides rights of management and use of land and resources, including biodiversity sustained by the land, meaning Mana Whenua should be consulted relative to Crown-controlled land and resources. This position was also expressed by nearly all Mana Whenua members I interviewed as represented above through material from Tauroa, Tairi and Shirley. They each in their own way recognised the Treaty as a means by which local Māori groups have the potential to become involved in conservation projects given Crown land being used for such purposes is often included in Treaty settlements.

Regardless of sociocultural background and identity, few explicitly stated that Māori should be involved in conservation, and possessed these rights of involvement, because assets and lands (to which Māori feel they belong to) were by and large wrested from Māori via Treaty breaches and land confiscations. Tao Tauroa's response however does capture this less-frequently articulated position, though I doubt most I conversed with would deny confiscations took place. Rather, most focused on the Treaty (especially Treaty settlements), and its protections for Tangata Whenua concerning the practice of their culture. This by extension connects to the maintenance of cultural links to ancestral land and associated kaitiaki responsibilities. Ally Tairi in explaining this, couched it in phrasing which asserted that Māori are conservationists at heart, or in other words, through traditional Māori culture and tikanga, they are good stewards of the land— a sentiment iterated by Tao also.

Some did express some reticence for land to be returned to iwi without agreed provisions or conditions upon its future use. John Payne, whilst optimistic that conservation land returned to iwi could increasingly involve iwi in conservation, worried that land otherwise suited for and/or deemed useful for certain purposes benefitting the general public, if returned to iwi, would no longer be utilised in the same way or at all. To make his case, he mentioned the example of an ostensibly no longer usable Raglan golf course. Kerry indicated she generally accepted land being returned to iwi, but her worry was not its use or non-use, but whether it would in perpetuity be prevented from being sold to foreign investors. When I pressed her on whether the Treaty had a role to play in conservation in ways less connected to land, she posited that the intent and values under which the Treaty was signed should not be applied to the present, modern world, absent some adjustment. I took this to mean that she would accept modern forms of conservation and tikanga as opposed to forms driven by spiritual-religious beliefs and practices. Using the wētā translocation scenario from chapter six, this would in practise mean support for transmitters as a way to better ensure successful translocations and the goals of biodiversity conservation, and a rejection of any opposition to the use of transmitters based the idea of mauri. A rejection of transmitter use for her would only be tenable if based on scientific data that transmitters were harming the insects or in some way impeding their natural behaviour. Such views toward the Treaty's role allow for and recognise iwi rights, but place caveats on the exercise of these rights and, in a way, do prompt inter-stakeholder dialogue to address the issue.

On the subject of multi-stakeholder relationships, Tauroa, and only a few others, explicitly expressed the notion that the Treaty formed the basis for the multi-stakeholder relationship. Through it he tacitly acknowledged the need for the Crown and its agencies to responsibly care for land and resources currently under its control in consultation with local iwi and hapū stakeholders. In other words, through the Treaty, Pākehā and Māori should collaboratively partner in conservation efforts in ways that feasibly recognise and meet the cultural needs and values of each stakeholder/partner group. This was a notion I expected many to express, particularly as these interviews occurred during the years the Trust was restructuring (2011-2012). This was not the case. Even so, it became clear that all involved recognised the Treaty and modern Treaty processes and legislation as a point of articulation for Māori cultural rights, conservation interests, societal goals for conservation, and the redress due local iwi groups for historic breaches of the Treaty and the ramifications caused thereby.

Rightful Stakeholders of the Project, of the Maunga

In interviews, I asked participants who they judged to be the rightful stakeholders of the project and/or of Maungatautari and why. I did this for a number of reasons. For one, it was a contentious issue I wanted to address, especially as the Trust, stakeholders and the community were attempting to reconfigure and solidly their relationships. Two, I anticipated that participants, in the effort to support their positons, would relate discourse and notions they subscribed to in regards to their own group and other groups which would speak to issues that are a part of multi-stakeholder collaboration and communications.

Sharon Brown is an adjoining landowner farmer who was raised in several areas on the North Island. Her parents first raised sheep and cattle, but later went into dairying at Litchfield. After serving in the army she got married and lived in town, but slowly made her way back into farming. She and her husband downsized to a smaller farm on a southwest slope of Maungatautari due to her husband's illness. On her maternal side, she is a fifth generation New Zealander, with great, great, great grandparents who left Scotland and settled at Nelson on the South Island. On her paternal side, her grandfather came over from Wales. Every generation, she says, farmed. She resists using any label for her culture. Relative to the topic of this subsection, here is a portion of our conversation:

> **Sharon:** …the adjoining landowners, anybody who owns land within the mountain, …the fence, and…the volunteers because the project wouldn't work without [them].
> **Author:** …they do all the work to keep the project going…
> **Sharon:** Yeah, they actually make it happen…, I don't think DOC…, the government department would actually have the passion for it, it would be a job, but the difference between a job and somebody that's got passion for [it], that makes it successful… And I've spoken to some of these guys…, they are actually quite passionate about their patch… Here they've cleared [it] from gorse and, you know there's a big patch of real shit, and they're just so proud of the fact that they could actually get tracks in there, and they can see a huge improvement…and they actually have really bonded with it, it's kind of, quite funny to listen to them talk you know? …You think it was their baby or something. It's not even their land…it's just, something there for the good of everybody. …they're quite passionate about it. So you can't, that's got a huge value in itself you know? You don't have to be a landowner to actually be passionate about the land… [recorded interview, 3 Aug. 2011, Pukeatua]

Fiona Judd served as a Trustee representing adjoining farmer landowners and later as a co-opted Trustee. She is a second or third generation New Zealander, depending on which family line is emphasised. Her paternal grandmother's family was one of the first to settle up the Wairau River in the 1850s. Some of her ancestors settled and farmed on the east coast of

the North Island, around the Clevedon area. Her grandfather, incidentally, helped Maungatautari become a designated scenic reserve, and her father helped establish Maungatautari's first stock fence. She was raised where her father settled and farmed, Horahora, a rural area northeast of and in the shadow of Maungatautari. She recalls exploring its bush while growing up, but recalls it was rather sparse, lacking fauna and undergrowth. She attended Horahora's rural school there, high schools in Cambridge and completed two degrees at University of Waikato. She presently owns an investment advisory firm. Culturally, she identifies as Pākehā, a term she sees neutrally: "…for me, it's a word that asserts my New Zealand-ness, …in describing myself as a Pākehā, no other country around the world describes themselves as a Pākehā"— and when overseas, she said she would use the term as "it is just part of me talking about the culture that I'm a part of" (recorded interview, 4 October 2011, Hamilton).

On the topic, she said:

> …the primary stakeholders are all the people of New Zealand, everybody, it doesn't matter what criteria they come into. This is biodiversity for the nation, and it should rightfully include everybody. Everyone has been part of the problem that has gotten the environment into the state that it is in now, then everybody is part of the solution. …we talked a little bit last time about how does one generation end up doing something and then another generation, turning around and doing the opposite, and how do you then justify it. And I do think there is a collective sense on behalf of people that everybody has been part of the problem, …therefore everyone needs to be part of the solution. [recorded interview, 4 Oct. 2011, Hamilton]

Jan Doran, a volunteer I previously profiled, related these views on the subject:

> Obviously, you need partnership…of iwi… Because…if they are not there— they have the Treaty claim on [Maungatautari] so…you need to involve them…, [be]cause that's their area. I guess we need the local council, …for the funding…side of it, and…the resource consent…and all that paperwork rubbish…, and landowners, they need to be represented…as well, because their farms back onto [Maungatautari] of course… [recorded interview, 24 Jul. 2012, Hamilton]

Rod Millar had this to say of the project's rightful project stakeholders:

> …geez, that's a tough one, really is all of New Zealand. Because that's the way I view it…, at the moment the main stakeholders I think quite honestly are more the people that do the work. …but they can't do their work without the people giving the money, so they

> are important too,…and all that [is not] worthwhile at all, unless we've got, we can keep the fence in,…the landowners obviously are important. But, we are only in the nursery stages of this project, that's why I said all of New Zealand. [recorded interview, 8 Aug. 2011, Cambridge]

Albert and Elwyn Andre-Wiltens are adjoining landowner farmers and volunteers in the project and own a farm on Maungatautari's eastern slope, which Rod Millar's task team often travelled through to do project work. Albert often assisted with fence and culvert work and kept an eye on the fence behind his paddocks. He also has served as a landowner trustee. Elwyn has contributed work to the project and volunteered as an office staff member.

Albert's father brought their family to New Zealand from Holland when he was eight years old, intent on more land and a better life. His father went into farming after getting an agricultural degree, though he didn't grow up on a farm. They briefly settled north of Morrinsville in the Waikato region and began share-milking. Later his father bought a farm near Matamata. Albert dislikes being indoors, so after a brief stint at university, he focused on what makes him happy— work outdoors and farming.

Elwyn's grandparents were likely the first in her family born in New Zealand, making her a third generation New Zealander. She was raised on a Matamata farm, in the Hinuera Valley. Her ancestors came from Australia and England. Though not all of them farmed, most were connected to it through the dairy industry: her grandfather, for example, was a dairy factory manager. Albert and Elwyn enjoy tramping all over New Zealand: recently, they cycled the South Island's Rail Trail. After farming in Matamata they sold land there and purchased their farm on Maungatautari. They steadily bought paddocks around them and now have seven hundred and fifty acres that span from the Waikato River's edge to forest on Maungatautari. They identify, from a sociocultural standpoint, as New Zealanders or 'Kiwis', preferring these terms over 'Pākehā'.

In the following conversation, they related their views as to rightful project stakeholders:

> **Albert:** …I believe it's really everybody, …it's a piece of land that nobody farms— it should belong to all, everybody in New Zealand. But there are definitely stakeholders: like landowners that are around it; iwi that have got a lot of land on the inside as well. And…then you've got your supporters. It really belongs to everybody but I suppose, some would have… more…involvement than others, so their rights are protected. I don't think it matters too much who owns it or whatever, but…
> **Elwyn:** Hmm…I, it is, belongs to many by various rights. I think that landowners adjoining are most concerned about the access way through it and the contract agreement

to continue that function of caring for fence and…associated spaces around it, access to it. But those people that are really…within the mountain, it is iwi, iwi is a…huge part, and for reserve land, that means the community as a whole. So I think we still have the three key [groups] that have commitment to it or, or…
Author: A stake in it?
Elwyn: Yeah, …it is clearly those three. By whatever, …when you talk about community it can be…volunteers, but really community is all the people who would like to see [project success] but don't fall within the category of iwi.
Albert: …we own this farm, but we're here for a short time. What we do, we're caretakers, that's all we do, but really, this, this land here belongs to the whole world. It was here before we got here. I mean…how can anyone actually be a rightful owner of that forever, it's impossible. We're going to go and somebody else is going to look after it. It's just…a part of the world and Maungatautari is the same isn't it? [recorded interview, 12 May 2011, Oreipunga]

Tao Tauroa had this to say about who should be considered rightful project and maunga stakeholders:

…what we had before, where the stakeholders were…— and should have been adhered to as of the original Trust deed…, that was the plan, …designed by those who started the MEIT concept… — those who actually had a stake in what MEIT was trying to…achieve, but…they needed some specific real estate…to start their project. …so the stakeholders were Mana Whenua…and the farm owners surrounding Maungatautari. …and that was signed up to by…all those parties: that Mana Whenua would allow their lands to be used…for the purpose of conservation on Maungatautari through the MEIT project; and that farm landowners who…agreed to have the fence built, rightly so, should have been included as stakeholders, …because at the end of the day it was their lands that were going to be used for the project. They should have a determination of how their lands should be used and looked after, [be]cause there is no transfer of ownership, it was just…a proposal by some conservationists to use their lands as a way of conservation… [recorded interview, 25 Jul. 2012, Pukeatua]

I then asked if he recognised any other stakeholders or whether it was just Mana Whenua and adjoining landowner farmers. Tao continued:

…at the time, and that as I say is what we signed up to, we didn't think there was any need to have other stakeholders involved and of course what happens is, and not only on Maungatautari, is that possession is nine tenths of the law and so all of a sudden we have other stakeholders, or perceived stakeholders come into the fray and claim a part… …that's precisely what's happened here. [recorded interview, 25 Jul. 2012, Pukeatua]

After he said this, I asked who these others were, and he explained:

> …members of the community…who have put in a lot of time and effort, members of the community who have exercised some rangatiratanga over lands that really aren't…theirs, saying, 'aw, this is part of the project, you know, we will do what we want to here,' you know? And so, I think that there will be many different stakeholders or possible or perceived stakeholders come to the fore in the future years because…that's what happens with such projects. People will come and go…: Mana Whenua will always be here. And, the surrounding farm owners will be always be here. So they are a genuine stakeholder. [recorded interview, 25 Jul. 2012, Pukeatua]

Alan Livingston, then Mayor of Waipa District, whose summarised profile features earlier in this chapter, provided this commentary as to the rightful stakeholders of the project:

> …the stakeholders with…the biggest…, undeniable interest are iwi and the adjoining landowners. And quite clearly volunteers have a vital interest, but they're not, I wouldn't call them stakeholders because they can come and go, do whatever they want to, which isn't going to impinge on…the project, or themselves, whereas iwi and landowners, it will always be the case. [recorded interview, 15 Aug. 2011, Te Awamutu]

When I asked Alan whether his list would change if we were not considering the project, but rather just the maunga itself, he said: "The maunga itself…which you can only define as a reserve area— iwi have a vital interest in it which includes historical ownership, but quite clearly New Zealand Inc. has an interest in it as well" (recorded interview, 15 August 2011, Te Awamutu). I asked what he meant by "New Zealand Inc.", and whether that meant all New Zealanders. He replied: "All New Zealanders, yeah. And I suppose, yeah, you know Waipa District Council is charged with that, with the responsibility of that management" (recorded interview, 15 August 2011, Te Awamutu).

Discussion

The question and topic of this section was one I included in interviews because at that time the community, intent on restructuring the Trust, was debating who, as a group, qualified as the project's and/or maunga's rightful stakeholders. I calculated that the responses of participants, once disseminated, would provide data that could aid project participants and supporters identify common conceptual ground on the matter. Further, in connection with a known sociocultural identity and connections to the project, I anticipated responses would help determine whether any pattern exists in the responses relative to sociocultural identity.

Mana Whenua participants in the main, as exemplified in Tao Tauroa's excerpt, recognised Mana Whenua as a rightful stakeholder of the project, as well as adjoining landowners because of their rangatiratanga— the right to exercise authority over some portion of land (in this case land on Maungatautari and adjacent to, underneath and/or behind the project's fence) due to a socially-recognised relationship to the land, be it ownership and/or a iwi/hapū connection. This view allowed that even adjoining landowners, because of their legal status as landowners, held rangatiratanga over that land. To highlight the significance of this view, the term 'rangatiratanga' needs brief examination. *Rangatira* is a chief, and the suffix –*tanga* connects it to a context or situation. Most Te Reo Māori dictionaries gloss the term as meaning chieftainship, the right to exercise authority or this right held by a chief, or simply as leadership of a group. Thus, those relating that see adjoining landowners as having rangatiratanga over their legally-owned lands seem to be allowing that these owners have the ultimate mantle of authority over their legally-recognised and titled lands. However, contrary views to this were expressed. A minority of Mana Whenua individuals felt that because Maungatautari was their ancient maunga, only they have the authority over all the maunga, and thus only they possess true stakeholder status. Still, a few other others offered a diplomatic viewpoint, and considered Mana Whenua, all landowners, WDC, MEIT (as they run the project), and representatives from the community at large as rightful stakeholders.

Though an adjoining landowner himself, Tauroa expressed a stance that differed from that of many other adjoining landowners. For example, Sharon Brown and Albert Andre-Wiltens agreed that any who owned land involved in the project were stakeholders; however, they both agreed that the community and/or its volunteers constituted a rightful project stakeholder because of their passionate and constant effort in the project. Tauroa, through appreciative of the community volunteer effort, did not see them as a primary project stakeholder for want of the requisite connection to land. Elwyn's position differed somewhat from that of her husband Albert. She felt the community constituted a stakeholder because much of Maungatautari (at the time[2]) was designated as a Crown scenic reserve, seeing a connection between it being intended for all New Zealanders and the local community and project volunteers. Albert did in the end suggest that everyone was a stakeholder,

[2] Maungatautari land formerly designated as Crown scenic reserve land can be considered now as scenic reserve land, though held in trust by a few designated trustees, or also as Mana Whenua/Kingitanga land entrusted to a few trustees for public enjoyment and the ongoing purposes of biodiversity conservation. NKK's Treaty settlement did not in the end place Maungatautari directly under their stewardship, but rather it was placed in trust with a conglomerate group of parties consisting of NKK/Mana Whenua, WDC, and DOC.

philosophically explaining that no one really ever owns land, rather, they merely are caretakers of it for a time.

Fiona Judd started at this all-encompassing conceptual point and went no further. She explained that as biodiversity loss was a problem everyone in New Zealand contributes to, everyone was a project stakeholder. Rod Millar shared this viewpoint, but did concede that the project does have primary stakeholders in the form of volunteers who were doing the work, financial supporters, and adjoining landowners. The positions expressed by Jan Doran and Alan Livingston were quite alike. They both explained that local iwi and adjoining landowners were the rightful project stakeholders due to undeniable interests: for Mana Whenua, they held a Treaty claim to Maungatautari, whilst adjoining landowners had land uniquely involved in the project. Both further agreed that WDC, on behalf of all of New Zealand's citizens, were a stakeholder because of its stewardship of Maungatautari on behalf of the Crown.

These responses, representative of those collected in interviews, indicate a conceptual divide. Most Mana Whenua espoused the idea that a stakeholder group was one that held direct, socially-recognised rights relative to land. Amongst Pākehā participants who were adjoining landowners, categorisation as a stakeholder group regularly extended beyond Mana Whenua and adjoining landowners and included volunteers, and the community, writ large for everyone in the country. Most volunteers, including former trustees, recognised the validity of core or primary volunteers, naming Mana Whenua and adjoining landowners as such, and allowed that others existed, be they financial supporters from private, business or government sources, or again, everyone in New Zealand.

In thinking about this conceptual divide between the groups, I recall a sentiment expressed by many in interviews relative to pastimes and vacations. Many Pākehā participants related they enjoyed being a New Zealander because it afforded them the privilege to freely access and enjoy beaches and forests, the country's great outdoors, and with little or nothing to impede them from doing so. This sentiment was proffered almost as a principle and right, something that should be, and always remain, an inalienable right. It is possible this notion influences views of who constitutes a 'rightful' project stakeholder. As all of New Zealand's environment, and its conservation estate, 'belongs' to everyone', then so too does the project 'belong' to everyone. Even though some never mentioned Mana Whenua or adjoining landowners in their list, I would not say they would deny or imply a denial of any due legal land rights these groups possess. Rather, they simply hold a macro view of connectedness to the project, and one that is more philosophical in nature. They see

the project connected to all New Zealanders, and in some cases, to all of humankind. They see biodiversity conservation as a problem connected to every New Zealander. They are also, from a sociocultural standpoint, more connected to common Western, and global viewpoints on the topics of biodiversity and conservation. Mana Whenua, whose ancestors were directly affected by the land confiscation, and remain keenly aware that rohe has been reduced as a result, more likely view rangatiratanga as the standard by which stakeholder status should be determined. With the cultural viewpoint that they belong to the land, and not vice versa, they also have kaitiakitanga responsibilities that simultaneously link themselves to their ancestors and future progeny. Consequently, they feel more is at stake, and given New Zealand's colonial history, they reserve the right to remain wary of what is done to land in their rohe. This wariness logically only increases when Maungatautari is considered— a mountain which is symbolic of their rohe, an element of their identity, has wāhi tapu sites, and is the last bastion of expansive, forested rohe land.

The conceptual divide between people from these sociocultural groups is not fixed, but does point to the cultural notions and values, imaginaries and cultural politics stakeholders from the various sociocultural backgrounds contend with as they navigate the project. Mana Whenua seem to employ the concept of rangatiratanga as the standard by which a group or individual make be considered a stakeholder. This I bolstered, or connected to, other cultural notions, including ancestral and kaitiaki connections to the land. For Pākehā, the macro and philosophical view they subscribe to in determining a stakeholder, focuses on biodiversity, seeing it as a global, or at least, national problem, which recognises it as a shared issue or challenge. For them, a sufficient connection by which a stakeholder relationship can be recognised or acquired can be had through other means than merely having a right over that land.

Part I Summary and Discussion

In the subsections above participant views were examined and discussed relative to a number of topics that in one way or another powerfully connects to the cultural politics of the project. The views, positions, discourse and conceptualisations stakeholders have of themselves and their project partners and various issues and topics— which derive from or are influenced by their respective sociocultural background and identity— have and continue to surface in the project. In debate, decision-making and implementation, they affect the cultural politics of the project in multi-stakeholder interactions. Understanding these views

better, and where viewpoints and positions overlap or differ, can increase mutual understanding and inform future project decision-making.

In the first subsection, we see that regardless of sociocultural identity and background, participants acknowledged that New Zealand's history of intensive land transformation and farming significantly contributed to the current level of biodiversity loss and risks. Commonly, rhetoric and discourse was employed to justify farming in New Zealand's past, present and future, which focused on the need to make a living, feed the world, and improve the human condition. Many also asserted that farming can now be done in a far more environmentally-friendly way, or at least less harmful manner, and in parallel, or in concert, with needed conservation projects. A few also recognised either the role Māori also played altering New Zealand's environs, or provided no justifying rhetoric for the practise of farming in New Zealand. Overall, participant views point to a generally broad and even conceptualisation of farming's effect on New Zealand's environment and the need for biodiversity conservation among project participants. This area of agreement aids project stakeholders in pursing primary project objectives such as maintaining the project's physical separation from farms and land deemed suitable for use, whilst permitting the sourcing of water from the maunga for farms, and eliminating pests as needed for the betterment of biodiversity and farming objectives.

In the second subsection, participant expressions were examined in regards to what they felt distinguished themselves and New Zealand's society. Pākehā participants viewed their society as unique for its 'settler-heritage adaptability', perceived proclivity for non-conformity, and a desire to prove themselves on a global stage. Mana Whenua generally expressed New Zealand's societal uniqueness in ways that stressed an individuality streak connected to its location on the periphery. Only a few Mana Whenua and Pākehā participants directly or indirectly allowed the presence of Māori as being a distinctive quality to New Zealand's society. The primary themes expressed, whilst not exactly similar, are nonetheless quite compatible. Stakeholders in the project can use this compatibility to build and bolster common ground in project areas pertaining to innovation in the project, in devising project solutions by seeking and considering solutions each can group can develop, and in portraying the project and their partnership to visiting schoolchildren, research institutions, and tourists/visitors.

In the third subsection, I reviewed responses concerning what were key or defining events or developments for New Zealand as a society and place. Analysis concluded that in common, participants, whether Māori or Pākehā, spoke of events in ways that focused on the status of the Māori–Pākehā relationship in the country. The Treaty, its effects, and modern processes aimed at making redress for breaches against it, and shared disasters or trying experiences, such as the world wars, were commonly expressed as New Zealand's defining events or developments. What both parties valued, based on responses, was harmony and/or the restoring or building of relationships one with another. In the project this can be leveraged to promote tolerance in times of disagreement and serve as a reminder that despite current differences or the nuance of a particular, perplexing situation of inter-stakeholder intransigence, they have a great deal of shared experience, wherein room can be made for the pursuit of building their interrelationship and the identification of a harmony, at the least through, optimised, collaborative, bicultural solutions.

The fourth topic examined and discussed pertained to views on what roles the Treaty might have in conservation throughout New Zealand, and in the MEIT project. On this topic there was considerable agreement among all Māori and Pākehā participants. They viewed the Treaty, and modern law and processes pertaining to it, as a point of articulation for Māori cultural rights, national conservation interests and goals writ large, and redress for historic breaches of the Treaty and the ramifications caused thereby. Few, however, recognised that the Treaty could be viewed as the basis for their multi-stakeholder relationship in the project. Those that did were predominantly Mana Whenua or adjoining landowners, and for those in the latter group, references to it were indirect or merely able to be inferred. Many viewed the Treaty as providing a way to ensure Mana Whenua's cultural needs and rights could be voiced and included in matters pertaining to land, resources and biodiversity conservation. Only a few though saw it also as a mechanism by which Pākehā cultural needs and views should also be considered (viewing the Treaty as an mechanism created to protect a two-way, mutually-beneficial relationship).

Stakeholders in the project could use this information to better recognise that the Treaty relationship, implemented in the present, means that both parties need to negotiate decisions in ways that take into account each party's cultural needs, values and goals. In other words, whilst work should rightly be accomplished to address past Treaty breaches on behalf of Mana Whenua, or Tangata Whenua in general, project endeavours should not overlook the cultural needs of Pākehā whilst it seeks to accommodate Mana Whenua needs. Of course this is easier said than done. Pākehā participants by in large expressed support for Treaty redress

and indicated support for an increased Māori presence in conservation, especially as conservation land is included in Treaty settlements. Thus, it follows that the relationship should be neutral, with neither party taking the lead nor acting as those in the driver's seat who 'consult' with other parties. Rather, from the outset, it should a discussion and inclusive decision-making progress that is conceptually grounded in the Treaty and a widely recognised perception of it engendering a partnership.

In the subsection examining views on which groups are rightful stakeholders of the project or the maunga, analysis concluded that Mana Whenua recognise stakeholder status based on existing and socially-recognised rights to land, and in this, likely utilise the concept of rangatiratanga, power or authority over land. This, and other cultural notions, including kaitiakitanga, and the presence of sacred sites on the maunga, and long held connections to Maungatautari, mean that they have a heightened sense of responsibility for the maunga. Pākehā participants were found to accept a wider set of stakeholders by employing a more macro and philosophical view of connectedness to the project. In this view, because all humans in New Zealand contribute to the conditions which hurt endemic biodiversity, all New Zealanders share the responsibility and hence are a stakeholder in the project, and other like-minded projects. A sufficient connection to land, to constitute stakeholder status, can, from this viewpoint, be created through other means and does not rely on rangatiratanga. There does seem to be a sociocultural divide on this topic. Mana Whenua turn to Māori cultural concepts and notions to base their viewpoints on the matter. Pākehā base their viewpoints on values and notions they are most comfortable with. Inclusiveness, connected to an irreducible shared status of being human, and the ability to create or make as needed, relationships, even dominant relationships, with land, are acceptable, and even part of Judeo-Christian and Western thought.

If anything, the data here, and my analysis and conclusions, can aid MEIT project participants at least by enabling a more informed and nuanced discussion of what qualifies parties to be a stakeholder and what it means to be one. Perhaps it could be settled by all agreeing to disagree, realising that sociocultural-informed or derived viewpoints are not always compatible or reconcilable. However, some common ground exists. Mana Whenua do feel they belong to Maungatautari and their rohe land. They also keenly feel they are stewards over it in a relationship of responsibility, for, and in behalf of, the Kingitanga. In this, they could realise they are taking care of it for others. In the same way, many Pākehā feel privileged to do what they can to help take care of the maunga, on behalf of others, be they Mana Whenua or any other New Zealander. They also recognise that legal rights to land exist

and do try to support and uphold such rights for themselves and others. Thus, a syncretic solution could emerge in the form of recognising primary stakeholders as well as secondary stakeholders. Differing levels of rights to land on the maunga, and connections to it, don't invalidate any others. Rather, a primary group's input would of course just be weighted more heavily than that of a secondary stakeholder. In this, cultural values, notions and concepts would need to be aired and discussed and taken into account.

These topics, and the discussion and analyses presented, further iterates some of the nuanced ways in which culture and sociocultural identity, though values, concepts and discourse, have and do shape the views of those who participate in, and constitute stakeholders of, the Maungatautari project. The positions they bring to project interactions, be it at the Trust board table, at management meetings, or in work on the maunga, and the sociocultural values, beliefs and concepts behind them, makes it entirely possible to develop inter-stakeholder intransigence and thereby affect (slow or stall) the project. Conversely, it presents an opportunity to delve further into what lies behind their positions and goals in the project, and develop more robust communication processes and engender deeper understandings of one another, and thereby, create a more inclusive, bicultural partnership. One way they can do this is to reconvene inter-cultural workshops. On a few occasions in the formative years of the project, the Trust held workshops in which Mana Whenua taught others of Māori culture and tikanga. Because the project's volunteer core (whether as a maunga worker or in the capacity of a trustee) does change with some regularity, holding similar workshops on a regular or semi-regular basis, could produce a number of beneficial outcomes. For one, new personnel could be quickly familiarised with other key project leaders and volunteers. In these venues, they could also be educated more in depth on the individual overall goals for the project held by each stakeholder, and the Trust overarching project goals, as well as the ethics and guidelines for accountability appertaining to the activities they will participate in within the project. Two, new, as well as any ongoing volunteers who wish to do so, may be taught key and relevant aspects of Māori culture and tikanga by Mana Whenua— aspects which would engender understanding, build partnership and respect, and inform conservation activity taking place on the maunga. In discussions, members of each stakeholder group could come to better understand not only differing beliefs and values, but also identify those commonly shared.

In a similar venue, individuals representing their stakeholder group could also discuss the ways they prefer to debate, discuss and make project decisions in the Trust and what variance exists in their goals for various aspects of the project and the overall project itself. They could discuss and decide how each stakeholder group's cultural needs could be mutually met in any given project area. They could relate and discuss viewpoints and values relative to key concepts and terms associated with biodiversity conservation, the human–environment relationship, cultural harvest and more. Further, they could discuss ways for them to identify instances in Trust meetings when they could be talking past one another and jointly determine methods they could implement to overcome this. Lastly, it would be important for both types of meeting groups to jointly decide what topics should be discussed at the next meeting.

Part II: Key Terms and Concepts

Part two of this chapter examines the various viewpoints participants expressed concerning a number of key terms, notions and concepts that were regularly expressed in conversation, debate, discourse and rhetoric relative to the project. Understanding how these terms are construed and understood by project participants provides yet another way to understand the way culture impacts the project. Participants' views and understandings of these terms are influenced by the worldviews and knowledge systems they were enculturated with from birth to the present via sociohistoric influences, such as past personal experience, including family or iwi/hapū activities, formal education and training, or participation in interest groups, governmental processes, et cetera. Thus, relative to sociocultural backgrounds and identities of participants, their understandings and views of various terms and concepts associated with biodiversity conservation and efforts on Maungatautari, constitute a basis for dissonance in various aspects of the project and in the proximate and ultimate goals debated, set and pursued.

In the first subsection, 'biculturalism' as a key term is examined. Recall that chapter five looked at multi-stakeholder interactions in relation to forms or versions of biculturalism, and assessed the state of their exchanges. The subsection to follow examines participant views of this term or concept as expressed in interviews and then provides discussion and analysis on the matter. The second subsection evaluates participant views on a number of key terms and concepts from English and Te Reo Māori that often surfaced in conversations and debate concerning the project. An analysis is included that examines whether a reliable homogeneity exists among participants from differing sociocultural backgrounds in the views

they expressed on the terms. Part two of the chapter ends with a conclusion that discusses and synthesises findings on participants' views of 'biculturalism' and other key terms, and distils implications for the multi-stakeholder partnership and its project.

Biculturalism

In fieldwork, I noted individuals often invoked the terms 'biculturalism', 'partnership' and 'consultation', and discussed them in ways that suggested that a great deal of variation existed in conceptualisations of them among project participants. Consequently, during interviews I asked what 'biculturalism' meant to them and whether it plays a role in the MEIT project, and if so, in what way. For those that indicated that biculturalism is or should be a part of the project, I also asked them to explain what it would look like in practise. Again, as in the previous chapter, profiles are included to provide personal context for, and indicate the sociocultural identity of, the participant. Included profiles, however, are those for individuals who have not yet been profiled previously. As before, the responses and dialogue selected and examined here represent the range of responses received.

Perceptions of 'Biculturalism'

I first met the late Gordon Stephenson 9 March 2010 just prior to a Trust meeting. Thereafter, our paths crossed often and regularly. Typically, this was at Trust and weekly management meetings (which he variously attended as needed), and Biodiversity subcommittee meetings. That he was heavily involved in MEIT undertakings is an understatement. Most notably, he served for years as a community co-opted trustee, the board's deputy chairman, and chair of the Science and Research committee. Later, after a Trust restructure in 2011, he served as one of MEIT's co-chairpersons. As related in chapter two, Stephenson was a co-founder of the project, the author/architect of MEIT's original deed, and was a scientific advisor to the Trust and its personnel.

Before MEIT, Stephenson blazed new conservation paths in New Zealand. His record of responsible farming, good stewardship of land, and involvement in biodiversity and ecosystem conservation, including time as chairman of New Zealand's largest conservation organisation, the Forest and Bird Society, lent weight to an idea he proposed to central government. Resultantly, the Queen Elizabeth II National Trust Act (1977) was established, enabling farmers to, in perpetuity, covenant property for conservation purposes. His accomplishments, accumulated experience and education (and his living near Maungatautari didn't hurt), made him an asset early MEIT collaborators could not overlook.

I interviewed Stephenson at his farm home, south of Putaruru in Waotu. The QEII block on his property, with its cattle-proof fence, lies not far from his home, and seems to be framed by his parlour's picture window. A number of vegetable patches which he and Celia tend, lie around the property, amidst other, aesthetic plants. His farm, adjacent to his home, is now owned and run by his son. My day long stay there afforded me the chance to have lunch with him and his wife Celia, engage in numerous casual chats, and record a long conversational interview in two parts.

Stephenson's maternal ancestors came from Prussia and Germany. Over generations they relocated to Belgium and then England. He was born and raised in the UK on a farm his dad worked. He farmed there until age thirty-three, when he, Celia, and their children, moved to New Zealand. He said that he came to realise that if he stayed in the UK, he would never be able to own a farm. In New Zealand they started share-milking, and over time, were able to buy their own farm— the farm now owned by his son.

The subject of biculturalism came up as part of a much larger conversation on the ways the Treaty and Treaty claims were affecting the country. He discussed 'biculturalism' in terms of 'partnership':

> Well the fact that you're all working together, this is what a partnership's about, not two parties eyeing each other, wondering who is going to make the next move. One of the issues has been Mana Whenua— Mana Whenua saying "we are not consulted". That's because some people do not understand what consultation really means. It is not, 'oh, we made a decision, now we'll get them to approve it'. It's involving people in the whole process. …the whole consultation process begins right at the very beginning, not halfway through, not at the end, right at the beginning when you are saying, 'now, what's the next species we should be introducing?' And they are there, talking about it, involved— involvement is the word not so much consultation, involvement. [recorded interview, 14 Dec. 2010, Waotu]

Later in our exchange I mentioned New Zealand anthropologist Dame Joan Metge and her book, *Korero Tahi* (2001), which outlines suggestions to foster inter-cultural communication and collaboration in a New Zealand context. Though he had not heard of her or her book, when I mentioned one of her ideas to help Māori and Pākehā better air the viewpoints of each other and collaborate in meetings— the use of a Māori 'speaker's stick'— and the latent difficulty in creating bicultural meeting environments, our exchange continued as follows:

> **Gordon:** …I think whoever is in the chair, leading the group, needs to lay down the ground rules. …we were up in a hut on [Mt.] Ruapehu once, and a group of young

people turned up with, there were kids with difficulties, obviously had been in court and God knows what else, and in the evening the leader got them all talking about issues and he had a stick and he passed it to that person and nobody interrupted that person, …he passed it on to somebody else, or she, and it worked. It was a real speaking stick, but you can have a metaphorical one.
Author: I guess it points out…who's talking, and people understand what the stick is, it just reinforced…'don't interrupt…'
Gordon: Yeah…
Author …let them speak their mind, and get it all out.
Gordon: Yes. …if you're going to have decisions by consensus, that is how it has to be. [recorded interview, 14 Dec. 2010, Waotu]

At that time of our interview the Trust and community had been debating whether the co-chair arrangement— one co-chair representing Pākehā and others in the community, the other representing Mana Whenua— should replace the existing chair and deputy chair arrangement. After a shakeup which included alterations to the Trust's deed, the unseating of two trustees, and the resignation of its chairman, MEIT committed to trial co-chairs for a period and evaluate its effectiveness. With this in mind, and near the end of our interview, I asked him whether he felt the stakeholders and community ever sought for the project to be truly bicultural and whether the imminent implementation of co-chairs, would contribute to this effort. To this, he said:

I think co-chair is a clear step towards that, but you are wondering…how will it actually operate... There is a couple of ways that a co-chair can work. One is to actually take turns, and the other, which is the one I favour, is that each of the co-chairs takes under his or her wing certain aspects of the project. One might be the financial wizard, another might be the biodiversity thingee. However, the co-chairs must then agree, obviously, who is going to be in charge at any particular time of the meeting but also on how the meeting should be run, and be consistent with it. …I may be speaking to a self-selecting group, but I do sit [at the Southern Enclosure's entrance]…talking to people briefly, and there seems to be a very great acceptance…of Mana Whenua involvement [thereby]. [recorded interview, 14 Dec. 2010, Waotu]

In talking with Robyn Nightingale on 'biculturalism', this was our exchange:

Robyn: Biculturalism means, and reflecting back for me, on the Treaty of Waitangi, where there were pretty much two founding peoples, there was the Māori and there were the British, so we had British and Māori people and they were the cultures, the founding cultures. This is, for me, that term bicultural… Biculturalism comes from, in this context, Māori and British. …that's for New Zealand, that's for me.
Author: So is it just meaning that they live alongside one another…? What does it mean in practice?

Robyn: …in practice they will be to a certain degree in and out of each other's lives, you know, culturally, but there will be this— I acknowledge that there are some parts of society where this interaction is even less than what we experience quite naturally there— so biculturalism at its, in its interactive form, I see it as taking on, and by choice, those positive values that are going to enhance your own lives. For example it could be making some very strong decisions in some of the committee meetings. In relation to the Trust, I talk about the finance committee. As a Mana Whenua representative on the finance committee…I have a karakia, a prayer to lift our group and…my prayer is for guidance and for help in all of the decisions that we are making on behalf of the Trust in relation to our mountain, Maungatautari. That is a good thing that I have, believe has worth and value from the Māori culture to bring it into a meeting which is essentially otherwise very Eurocentric, very Pākehā.
Author: Yeah. …if one of the other members, Pākehā, were comfortable in praying would it ever be appropriate for one of them to offer a prayer…?
Robyn: I think it would be.Yes, because we have— we actually started it last year. Karaitiana led us all in a prayer. We all pray together, so yes it is appropriate. And it would be easy to do, so long as it's not just ritual for ritual sake, but there is that understanding why it is being done. [recorded interview, 24 Feb. 2012, Parawera]

Fiona Judd, after hearing her partner relate his views on the subject, had this to say on the topic:

…biculturalism is just creeping PC government doublespeak, which actually is still far away from actually what New Zealanders like. And two, I agree with [my partner] that when you start talking about biculturalism you ultimately get into this Iwi/non-Iwi [dichotomy] and it completely ignores the rest of Polynesia, ignores Australia. And I just think of all the contributions of all…that have come into New Zealand. And the length of time that cultures have been here. I went to school with a woman with an obvious Chinese name and who looked Chinese, and I can still remember being at a party and someone coming up to me and saying, 'gosh you know, Annette speaks wonderful English, for being only here for such a short period of time.' And I looked at him and I Said, 'she is not an international student, you know, she is a fifth-generation.' Her family came out with golddiggers. One of her grandfathers set up one of the first supermarkets in the fifties in Auckland. They are exceedingly old, established.... And they are New Zealanders. She is a New Zealander. She couldn't be anything else if she tried. And yet what does she become? She becomes a non-person because we've got Iwi and everybody else left. [recorded interview, 4 Oct. 2011, Hamilton]

After relating a few thoughts on her friend Annette, she continued:

If you go around the Waikato and Cambridge there is a whole family there that have been dairy farmers for a very, very long time, and they have brought in a completely different culture into New Zealand dairying…because of their Indian culture. Do we just completely ignore that and say, 'well you're non-Iwi as well, and you're somehow

> something amorphous.' I just think that it makes everybody smaller in the non-Iwi side, because it's un-person and we're all jumbled together as if we're all the same, and we're not. We may all be New Zealanders, but we all have the right to assert things that make us different as well, and I don't see that biculturalism actually does that. I think it just pays lip service to the Treaty of Waitangi… [recorded interview, 4 Oct. 2011, Hamilton]

Stephen (a pseudonym) related his succinct thoughts on my query and the topic:

> **Stephen:** Hah, something that I'll always steer clear of, [be]cause that can be complicated as well. Is something to, more than one culture living together in coexistence.
> **Author:** Ah-hah, how would that coexistence actually play out, how would it work?
> **Stephen:** Mmm,
> **Author:** [Be]cause, [be]cause you could…
> **Stephen:** See the neighbours of different races living together, respecting each other's culture but not necessarily partaking of it, just accepting each other's cultures I think. [recorded interview, 12 Dec. 2011, Cambridge]

Sue Reid had this to say of 'biculturalism':

> …back in the 80s…they brought in the idea biculturalism and there was this big outcry among people saying why not multicultural…? …basically you're sort of, and it's just looking back at those people, …at the Māori people, and saying, right, you know, they are the first people of this land and they made it what it was when we got here…and had learned so much that we then ignored and had to learn ourselves again. …it's, sharing ideas, sharing hopes, dreams, …listening to each other I think. [recorded interview, 24 May 2012, Te Awamutu]

Later in our conversation, she explained further: "…it's sort of almost a valuing thing isn't it, valuing what we can do for each other or what we can, and that might be just in ideas that, it doesn't have to be a physical doing, it's just…, we can, we can" (recorded interview, 24 May 2012, Te Awamutu).

Karaitiana Tamatea, of Ngati Koroki Kahukura, Takitimu and Pakapu, has represented his hapu and Maungatautari Marae as a MEIT trustee, and served as Trust co-chairperson for Mana Whenua. He links to Maungatautari/NKK through his mother. A career position she had, took her to Gisborne, where he was born and raised. Even so, he related, she deliberately kept him connected to NKK: "ever since I was small, whenever mum would come home back to Maungatautari…, she would bring me home" (recorded interview, 23 Sep. 2011, Hamilton). Typically these trips were for important meetings and funerals. Due to the connections that were built between him and whanau at NKK, and the experiences he had, he has always wanted to return and live in the Waikato, which he accomplished. He

attended University of Waikato and then Auckland to gain his teacher's diploma. One of his first roles in the early 1980s had him working in a bilingual programme. He helped launch and run a Māori immersion programme at a school in Tauranga. In the mid-1990s he completed a postgraduate degree at Waikato in education and has since taught at high school and at Waikato.

Karaitiana became fluent in Te Reo Māori later in life, but kaumatua and grandparents frequently used it with him over his life. His children learnt it as their first language, and he said, use it often. He uses his Māori language skills widely with opportunities on the marae and in various meetings through his co-chair position at the Koroki Kahukura Trust, which partners with area businesses, government and public works businesses. When discussing partnership, biculturalism and what role they may have in conservation and/or the MEIT project Karaitiana related these thoughts:

> We know as a nation the difference between right and wrong. But I also know that… there are those amongst us where we still need to keep on, a conversation, still need to keep on, so that we can get to know each other and respect each other more. Otherwise, oh, the thing too is who else amongst [those] in Aotearoa New Zealand are the most bilingual, bicultural people here? And I would suggest it would be Māori, so it's part of the partnership, where we are saying now, 'hey, …partner, come more our way and pronounce our words correctly and understand Māori. We don't want to force it on you, but hey, English was compulsory and forced on us so…' [recorded interview, 16 Nov. 2011, Hamilton]

In terms of the project and apparatuses that could help engender biculturalism, he said it was about

> …re-establish[ing] that partnership…as we were the invisible partner for a long time and it's interesting how we— the word partnership, for some, it means it's a three-way thing with adjacent landowners, as well with landowners Mana Whenua and community. But from a Māori perspective the partnership term is based on the Treaty that was between Pākehā and Māori, or the Māori and the Crown. …that's what we are bringing back into MEIT by having the three, three, three; three by three executive committee structure, the co-chair on both levels. The full Trust, has a…cultural safety valve…for cultural safety reasons, because those sorts of things. Those safety mechanisms weren't around or have never been actively in place and they got to the stage with MEIT where, you know, we all have to admit that one person was running it so, a bit difficult when we're trying to make it a community project... [recorded interview, 8 Dec. 2011, Hamilton]

A moment later he added:

> The bicultural or the partnership model that we had advocated, and are using, you know we continually reassess, re-evaluate [it], we think it's worked really well. In actual fact with the amount of the number of issues we've had over the last two and a half years, it would be very, very difficult to see if one person as a chair could handle that whole situation. But having two, …you share that workload, you become, I feel, colleagues in support but at the same time having a person from Mana Whenua and having a person not from, non, or, Pākehā person, Pākehā person working together actually epitomises the intent of the Treaty, in partnership, not one better than the other, but using our expertise and skills for the benefit of the whole project. [recorded interview, 8 Dec. 2011, Hamilton]

Discussion and Analysis

From the excerpts above, it is easy to see that a wide range of views or conceptualisations of 'biculturalism' exist among project participants. Even so, few viewed it as anything more than a superficial, courteous relationship. Indeed, biculturalism is a relationship, but arguably it is also the methods and the means which characterise and constitute the relationship. It is really more than a relationship or exchange produced in any given moment in time. It is a way of life that for an individual, or a group, enables understanding of, and as appropriate, participation in, aspects of another culture and way of life.

In his comments, the late Gordon Stephenson, who though an immigrant to New Zealand, considered himself to be a New Zealander, viewed biculturalism as an equal partnership, wherein no one party dominates the relationship. Those involved in this relationship collaboratively make decisions together at every stage of the process. Sue Reid, another long-time project volunteer, who also is not Mana Whenua, indicated that biculturalism was about sharing ideas and hopes, really listening to one another, and valuing what each can offer the other in the relationship. Stephen (a pseudonym), also a long-time volunteer and not Mana Whenua, viewed it as a simple, and not necessarily deep, relationship. In his view of it, biculturalism is the acceptance of each other's culture, though partaking of the other group's culture is not required. In other words, familiarity with the other's culture is not needed, rather only an openness to it existence is. Fiona Judd's view of biculturalism, shared by a minority of other participants, consitutes an outlier. This view of it sees it merely as political correctness, or doublespeak, nothing more than a veneer of respect for the Treaty and its obligations.

Mana Whenua participants expressed views of biculturalism that envisioned it as a deep relationship, as well as the actions by which the relationship takes form. Robyn

Nightingale indicated that the relationship starts with the recognition that Māori and Pākehā are the founding peoples of New Zealand, with each having their own culture, yet experiencing life in a way that the two intermingle. For her, what makes the interaction truly bicultural in nature is the deliberate incorporation of a cultural aspect from one of the groups into the other's along with an understanding of that aspect and its use. Karaitiana Tamatea viewed it quite similarly. For him, it is a reciprocal, respectful and engaging partnership (again, a relationship), but one in which both parties have learnt to operate in each other's sociocultural sphere. Each, out of respect, should be able to pronounce words of the other's culture correctly and generally understand their meaning. The burden of this, he explained, falls more to Pākehā, who unlike Māori, were never forced to learn the other's language and operate in the other's sociocultural milieu.

Comparing these views across sociocultural lines, Reid and Stephenson's views came closest to Nightingale and Tamatea's view that sees both group's members being able to, at one level or another, operate in the other's sociocultural sphere. Reid indicated that the sharing of ideas and a valuation of what the other group can offer is a key element of biculturalism. This infers that a level of knowledge of the other's culture is attained. Stephenson, in mentioning the use of the talking stick— a Māori tool and practice intended to aid in the airing of all viewpoints— infers awareness and incorporation of Māori cultural practices and knowledge outside of strictly Māori cultural contexts. Even so, their views of biculturalism focused more on the outcome of the relationship or MEIT structures meant to provide interactional equality, such as the co-chair arrangement, than the means to achieve a grassroots biculturalism via members of both group's being able to step into, and operate within, the other's sociocultural environment.

That most Pākehā hold a general focus on the outcome of what is otherwise a superficial relationship and see this as biculturalism, and Mana Whenua focus on the practices which create the relationship, it is clear that among participants, members of these groups do hold distinctly differing views of biculturalism. Though they both share a similar, idealised and somewhat objectively-recognised social product or objective— an equal, respectful, open relationship— the dichotomised conceptualisation of 'biculturalism' between them does risk the actual production of this objective. One group's members view it as acknowledgment (perhaps tolerance?) and/or respect for the other's culture, whilst the other group asserts it emanates from inter-cultural awareness, knowledge and practice. Some are focused on it as an outcome, whilst others are focused on it in terms of the concrete means by which a desired outcome or relationship is realised. If both are not learning and practicing

and/or participating in aspects of the other's culture than it is not a full exercise in creating a truly bicultural social environment. If only members of one group make such an effort, the collaborative effort between them cannot be considered bicultural. In other words, their interactions would not be engendering a full, realised biculturalism between them. Such a situational state concomitantly has the potential to hamper multi-stakeholder relations and collaboration in projects such as MEIT. Conversely, a concerted effort between them to actively learn aspects of the other's culture, and appropriately implement and incorporate them in a concerted manner, has the potential to comfortably enable members of each group to produce a bicultural sociocultural sphere.

Shared Perceptions

With my interest in the role of culture in the project vis-à-vis its participants, biculturalism and collaboration, I concluded it would be fruitful to additionally assess whether participants viewed several keys terms and concepts in the same way. The terms examined here often arose in fieldwork conversations with people from across the community and within MEIT project meetings and debates when subjects such as biodiversity conservation, the MEIT project, stakeholder relations, and/or the Treaty were being discussed. Further, some are Te Reo Māori terms, and others are English. The data was collected with the intent to ascertain whether a reliable homogeneity of views exists relative to these terms within, and between, Mana Whenua and Pākehā project participants. The terms align to one or more themes: ecological approaches; cultural identity and rights; and stewardship of resources. A representative selection of responses, organised by the term or concept, and compiled and divided by sociocultural identity is found in Appendix J. These responses enable limited comparisons within and across sociocultural groupings of MEIT participants that reveal the extent of shared conceptual understanding of the terms and concepts. Groups of responses are organised sociocultural identity: those who identified as Mana Whenua or an indigenous New Zealander from a tribe or subtribe are under the header of '*Māori'*, and those who self-identified as a Pākehā, a Non-Māori New Zealander, Kiwi, or European, are under the header of '*NZ'*. The concepts/terms examined are: 'customary use rights'; 'environmentalism'; 'conservationism'; 'preservationism'; 'sustainable-use'; 'Pākehā'; 'kaitiakitanga'; 'rohe'; 'tapu'; 'mana'; and 'mauri'.

Summary of Responses

Referring to the data contained in the aforementioned appendix, a number of things can be said relative to each term/concept for the groups and between them. In regard to 'customary use rights', non-Māori New Zealander respondents were, by and large, not overly familiar with the concept, with some either roughly aware of it and some who had no idea of its meaning. Māori participants, however, were uniformly aware of the concept and of situations in which it applied, though few mentioned the deeper concepts and purpose behind it. Māori participants held a uniform view of the term which was shared by only a few from the New Zealander group. The term 'environmentalism' was viewed uniformly by participants in both groups. The concept of 'conservationism' was similarly understood by most individuals in each group, though among Māori respondents, some views were more nebulous. Responses relative to the term 'preservationism' varied among those in both groups, though, in general, they held similar themes. Some in each group were unfamiliar with the term, while a few conceptually conflated it with aspects associated with 'conservationism'. However, Māori group participants' views were more expressive and detail-oriented relative to tangible actions connected to it and its end goals. Regarding the term 'sustainable-use', there was considerable agreement both within the groups and across them.

Concerning the term 'Pākehā', a portion from the New Zealander group found it non-offensive or at least neutral, though a slightly larger portion did consider it offensive and/or demeaning. Additionally, within this group there was little consensus on its exact meaning, but a good deal on consensus as to an implied sociocultural meaning. Within the Māori group a majority held a common understanding of the term and utilised a common word in its gloss. Their views of it were not negative or demeaning, and though their glosses of it differed markedly from those of the New Zealander group, both groups had a common implied or idiomatic understanding of the term. 'Kaitiakitanga', or the verb and noun 'kaitiaki', was not uniformly understood by those in the New Zealander group. Many were unsure of their understanding of it. Those in the Māori group held a uniform view of the term, and most provided clarifying nuance. Between the groups, a common understanding of the term was not had. For the term 'rohe', a good portion from the New Zealander group expressed a gloss associated with another Te Reo Māori term, whilst a few either didn't have a clue or expressed an understanding similar to that held by those in the Māori group. Among the Māori group there was strong and focused agreement as to its meaning. Between the groups there was little common understanding of the term. '

Tapu' among those of the New Zealander group was conceptually understood one way by half, and another way by the other half. Those from the Māori group demonstrated a far higher degree of uniformity in their understanding of it along one main theme or aspect. Between the groups, however, the concept is generally understood in similar ways, though dissimilarity exists in regard to core aspects of those understandings. Regarding 'mana', there was considerable uniformity both within and between the groups on its meaning. Lastly, within the New Zealander group there was a degree of uncertainty surrounding the term 'mauri'; while for others it was wholly unfamiliar. A number of participants, however, shared similar glosses of it. Most participants from the Māori group agreed on its meaning and provided more nuance. On this term then, little agreement existed between the groups.

Subsection Conclusion

A number of conclusions emerge from these comparisons. One, a number of terms/concepts were uniformly understood or similarly viewed by most within and across both groups. These terms were: environmentalism; conservationism; sustainable use; and mana. The term 'Pākehā' might also be in this group, but for a caveat: a common ultimate or idiomatic meaning (white New Zealander) was held between the groups, but definitions between the groups varied considerably (e.g. one or another animal; newcomer; European). 'Tapu' is also excluded from this grouping: though it was, in general, uniformly understood, the variance in core emphasis (sacred versus bad) among the New Zealander group means that between the groups some ultimate dissonance exists. Two, between the groups, though some similarity in understandings exists for some Te Reo Māori terms/concepts, there is a noticeable awareness of uncertainty pertaining to the them by those in the Pākehā group. Three, relative to commonly accepted glosses of the terms/concepts (see List of Terms), those from the Māori group regularly demonstrated more accurate understandings for most of the terms/concepts as opposed to those from the New Zealander group, and more especially for Te Reo Māori terms/concepts. Lastly, Māori group participants seem to with more uniformity understand terms/concepts that originate from their own and the wider sociocultural milieu. This suggests they have more regularly navigated both their own and New Zealand's wider Western-based sociocultural milieu than their counterparts, and/or those from the New Zealander group have in the project remained relatively isolated/uninformed vis-à-vis Māori cultural concepts that pertain to conservation.

Part II Conclusion

Part two of this chapter examined the views participants expressed on 'biculturalism' and what it means to be bicultural, and various other terms/concepts from English and Te Reo Māori which are regularly a part of debate and discourse surrounding MEIT project work. Analysis has concluded that a sociocultural divide exists in the way 'biculturalism' is conceptualised by participants. This is likely producing a scenario, relative to this term/concept, in which participants are 'talking past one another'. They are not aware that they are, when discussing the term, not ultimately talking about the same thing. This holds potential for further cognitive dissonance in the community project, as well as increased partnership, understanding and collaboration, if addressed concertedly. Further, in view of the findings of part two's second subsection, not only is the first subsection's conclusion supported, but it reinforces what others have concluded about New Zealand society in general: that is has, by and large, been a truly monocultural experience for most New Zealanders. Analysis suggests this is the case for those who have participated in the MEIT project who are not Mana Whenua. Though some understanding of Te Reo Māori terms and concepts is had among Pākehā participants, it remains superficial despite the partnership and presence of Mana Whenua in the project. Mana Whenua on the other hand are more evenly familiar with both Te Reo Māori and English terms and concepts pertinent to conservation than their Pākehā counterparts. Again this suggests that a situation of multi-stakeholders 'talking past each other' is a strong possibility in the project. Though there is more mutual understanding among the terms and concepts examined than there is of 'biculturalism', enough variegation exists in the understandings participants have of these key terms/concepts that conceptual dissonance constitutes a real and ongoing problem for the project without concerted efforts to address the issue.

CHAPTER IX

THESIS CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research endeavour has been to explore the role of culture within the MEIT project. A primary aim has been to identify and explore the cultural aspects and notions that have surfaced and/or been emphasised in the course of project operations, meetings, and functions, in respect to the heterogeneous sociocultural backgrounds and cultural identities of the project's stakeholders and participants. Associated with this, an effort has been made to examine the interactions of the project stakeholders in various Trust meetings from MEIT's inception in 2001 through mid-2012. The intended aim in this has been to determine whether their interaction has been conducted in a manner that can reasonably be considered bicultural. Through these examinations, light has been shed on the ways the project's stakeholders and its community, have dealt with issues pertaining to their sociocultural differences in the context of creating a durable, non-profit trust and successful biodiversity conservation project.

Another aspect of this thesis has been to examine the persons engaged in the project and their respective sociocultural backgrounds. This has been done through personal profiles and an examination of the narratives and views they related concerning the project and their participation in it. Surveying project participants to ascertain their views of their own sociocultural background and identity, and to understand the reasons for their involvement in the MEIT project, provided essential contextualisation to the exploration of the role of culture in project events and multi-stakeholder interaction. This material provided depth and individual context to these interpersonal and group interactions, which made it possible to draw definitive conclusions relative to the research goal of addressing the larger role of cultural heterogeneity in the MEIT project.

'Seeing' the context that is culture, which encompasses individuals and groups in the project, has been a central effort in this thesis. Certainly, other contexts do exist. This could include: New Zealand as a modern nation state and its internal politics set against a globalised world; the influence of contemporary environmentalism and pressure to pursue conservation goals on a local and regional level; biodiversity conservation with methods and strategies that incorporate an ecosystem approach and modern genetics; or, strictly a multi-stakeholder approach to conservation that is inclusive of local stakeholders along with governmental and corporate players. However, my interests lie in the context that is culture, a

context that is not as easily recognised, framed, or quickly or easily understood. Recognising culture as a context in and of itself does not diminish or obscure its complexity. Culture, is, after all, far more than mere context. Again, at its most basic level, culture is knowledge that an individual must know to act effectively in both the natural and social components of an environment (Hunn 1989:145; Townsend 2009:18). What 'effectiveness' can mean differs based on the disciplinary approach of those evaluating it, but a good way of thinking about it is to see that the attainment of culturally-defined goals ultimately means the meeting of goals "imposed by the biological and cultural evolutionary systems" any human individual belongs too (Hunn 1989:145). Culture then, as a system of information that acts as a blueprint for a particular way of life, is symbolic, semiotic, and yet also includes behaviour as it is the product of culture (Hunn 1989:145-146).

Culture then constitutes the most important context for this research, as it is the framework within which project participants perceive the present and act. It is for this reason culture has been the focus of this thesis. Even so, more context does exists for the MEIT project and its community. In the introduction, a brief discussion reviewed the geological and biological history of New Zealand's land mass and islands. Its separation from the landmass that became the Australian continent, which occurred before the evolution of mammals, meant that endemic avifauna and insects came to occupy most niches in the archipelago. Additionally, because it remains geologically active, volcanism, faults and earthquakes have modified, and will continue to, modify the landscape. Other particular environmental modifications, such as forest clearing, began with the arrival of Polynesians and accelerated following the onset of European colonisation. Consequently, by the onset of the twenty-first century the amount of total land area in New Zealand covered by forest was reduced from seventy-five percent to less than twenty-five percent. Agriculture, dairying, and stock animal farming, along with the introduction of foreign pest and predator species, have in aggregate taken a toll on the vitality of New Zealand's ecosystems, contributed to many endemic species' extinctions, and continue to threaten many others with extinction. It is this situation that those behind the MEIT project set about to reverse on and around Maungatautari. Thus, the decimated state of endemic biota on Maungatautari is one context for the formation of the project.

In chapter four the conservation effort on Maungatautari was contextualised through a detailed examination of social and environmental change in New Zealand. A number of key developments were identified which aid the effort of examining the role of culture in the MEIT project. Generally, a large portion of land in New Zealand changed hands in the

nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with most of it departing Māori hands in illegal or ethically questionable circumstances. A large proportion of New Zealand's land area was subsequently cleared of native cover and put into pastoral and agricultural production, accelerating the rate of landscape change Māori initiated. The end result has been the creation of a foreign landscape over much of New Zealand and an environment ill-suited to most of its endemic faunal species. This, in concert with introduced pest and predator species, continued to reduce endemic populations, cause extinctions, and set the stage for further extinctions.

In relation to Maungatautari, a long Māori presence and history on and around the maunga forms a foundation on which Mana Whenua feel and assert a connectedness to it. Additionally, a number of developments significantly affected New Zealand society and brought about new and formal modalities for Māori to influence conservation and social development relative to their needs. A relatively recent Māori cultural revitalisation heavily influenced social and political interest in the Treaty of Waitangi. As a result the Treaty and notions surrounding it, were inserted into New Zealand law and policy. More than anything, this has aided iwi in efforts to pursue social/cultural justice for historical wrongs committed against them in violation of the Treaty through claims and settlements. These developments have cross-pollinated the environmental arena. Law and protocol have been developed which provide a way for Māori and iwi groups to assert historical rights and cultural needs in local, regional and national conservation initiatives and resource management.

Chapter two reviewed the formation of the Maungatautari project and MEIT, noting a number of salient findings and elements. First, in a review of the factors that enabled the emergence of the MEIT project, various physical, social and political developments were highlighted for their role in making Maungatautari a site suitable for such a project. Two factors were identified as most proximate for this condition: one, the development of the Xcluder pest-proof fence system, and two, the near-romantic regard many in the community held for Maungatautari. They simultaneously recognised and lamented its ecological and biological deterioration. Further, much of Maungatautari, with its rugged higher slopes and cones, was ill-suited for being cleared and put into pasture. It was also never industrially logged either. Thus it remained an island of forest in the Waikato and eventually became a designated Crown scenic reserve.

However, some farms established on its lower slopes have at one time made use of the forest's undergrowth, letting cattle forage there. Many people in the past, and also presently, rely on streams coming down from Maungatautari as a source of water for their farms. Local Māori subtribes though dispossessed of much of their former rohe, maintained links to the

area and Maungatautari. They remained anchored to Maungatautari through stories, traditions and genealogy that linked them to it and wāhi tapu there, and through marae they keep and/or built on its slopes. Thus, Mana Whenua, adjoining farmers, and the local district council charged with stewardship of the Maungatautari scenic reserve, each held interests in the maunga and emerged as the project's primary stakeholders. Saliently, though each stakeholder group acknowledged that Maungatautari was largely devoid of endemic avifauna, they were keenly aware that its rugged forests still had the potential to provide fecund habitat for endemic New Zealand species if given the chance.

Another key element behind the emergence of the project is the contributions of a few individuals, and in particular, Juliette and David Wallace. Together, their life experiences, vision, determination and pioneering efforts in the creation of a small private reserve at Warrenheip proved the viability of mainland ecological island concept and the Xcluder fence system. This in turn gave rise to the idea of making Maungatautari an ecological island and brought validity to the idea of doing so.

Lastly, another key element in the formation and establishment of MEIT and the project was a community-wide participatory appraisal consultation held by the embryonic Trust. Through various interactive sessions and forums with the future project's main stakeholder groups— Mana Whenua, the community, and adjoining landowner farmers— the consultation produced a number of salient outcomes. Most conspicuously, it produced a solid groundswell of support for the project across the stakeholder groups and the community. Additionally, the endeavour produced a broad understanding amongst all the stakeholder groups of the relationship each had with the maunga. Further, it produced a number of key, strong supporters and volunteers for the project. Lastly, the consultation provided qualitative evidence sufficient to develop traction and/or significant support for the project from the district and regional councils and DOC.

However, a number of issues pertaining to the consultation were identified. Though likely not a function of a lack of good faith or intent, and more attributable to limited time and resources, it was not thorough or protracted enough to adequately assess the input of enough adults from the wider community, and in particular, from Mana Whenua stakeholder groups. Most importantly, it failed to adequately assess the cultural values, beliefs and practices stakeholders had relative to the maunga and their relationship with it. Consequently, though the participatory appraisal consultation was instrumental in marshalling support for the project and moving it forward, it did not adequately survey, explore and/or include the views of Mana Whenua stakeholder groups and produce even a rudimentary picture of the

concerns and needs of Mana Whenua relative to their culture, the maunga and project. It did seem to assess with more confidence the views of Pākehā landowners, and others in the community with a less-formal and/or indirect relationship to the maunga. Even so, it did not explore or ascertain the cultural beliefs, values and norms held by these stakeholders which could in the future play a role in a multi-stakeholder project of this nature. Years later, project stakeholders in the MEIT recognised that more consultation at the outset was needed and would have been helpful in avoiding some of the challenges they had faced.

Biculturalism and Cultural Difference in the Project

The sixth chapter examined a number of events in the project, focusing on examples where cultural difference in the beliefs, values, and practices of MEIT stakeholder groups and participants directly affected the project. In the case of determining a promotional pamphlet title, differing cultural perceptions of 'mana' in association with the use of the term 'restoring' led to an initial disjuncture. However, in handling this, stakeholders were afforded the chance to better appreciate one another's interests in the project. It further aligned their vision for the project at that time and helped participants from the country's two primary sociocultural groups become a little more bicultural as they each better understood each other's conceptualisation of 'mana'.

In the sub-enclosure completion incident, Trust stakeholders and personnel learnt a lesson and then worked more closely together after an inter-cultural misstep that caused inter-stakeholder dissonance and a significant challenge for the nascent project. To the Trust's credit, the way they handled it reinvigorated multi-stakeholder collaboration for a time. Recall that in this incident construction on the project began with what would become the Northern Enclosure. Importantly, this site was located nearby NKK's Maungatautari Marae and near the traditional main public access point to the scenic reserve. Before it was completed, however, construction commenced on a much larger sub-enclosure located on the maunga's southern face. After a number of months, it became apparent to Mana Whenua that the Northern Enclosure would not be completed before the southern one. Mana Whenua stakeholders objected. They had logically concluded, and therefore expected, the northern site to be completed first. Further, based on local cultural belief and sensibilities, they viewed the northern face of Maungatautari as its "front door" and thus the proper location to truly commence the project. Mana Whenua requested that steps be taken to ensure the Northern Enclosure was completed first. People listened. Debate ensued. Questions were asked. Communication took place. Advice and input was sought out. Consequently, construction

emphasis shifted back to the northern sub-enclosure, enabling it to be completed first, though not without changes to construction plans, changes which incurred additional costs.

The cause of the sub-enclosure dispute was a lack of regular communication between stakeholder groups and the project's executive and management teams and a failure to seek out potential concerns among all stakeholders in the decision to shift construction emphasis. More to the point, it is a case of monoculturalism obscuring alterity. Amidst the predominant monocultural sociocultural milieu in New Zealand, Mana Whenua cultural needs and their viewpoint on a key project development was not initially recognised, let alone sought for in the decision-making process in this instance. Those accustomed to the dominant sociocultural milieu had to learn to consider that varying viewpoints might actually exist among other stakeholders who have a differing background and yet are able to navigate the dominant sociocultural milieu. Further, another finding from this incident that requires consideration is that Mana Whenua representatives, with their strong linkages to whanau, hapū, iwi, and wider Māoridom, often do need to consider, and act in ways that meet, the sociocultural obligations they have to these groups. This means they may not always act in ways that prioritise the needs of the larger endeavour over those of their whanau, hapū and/or iwi.

The situation also revealed a concern relative to the Western-orientated manner in which meetings were conducted in the Trust. For one, meetings run like that of a corporation's governing board don't necessarily lend themselves to the discovery of deeper interests and beliefs. In such an environment, this can marginalise an indigenous group in the multi-stakeholder environment, which already must navigate the condition of having less power in connection with their minority status. Anthropologist Dame Joan Metge (2005:85-86) has pointed out that Māori, especially those raised on or enculturated via a marae, tend to prefer to discuss and make group decisions in accordance to the culturally conditioned behaviour they experienced on the marae. They do not value, appreciate or practise steady, direct eye contact in conversation. To do so is confrontational. Rather, brief eye contact in debate and discussion is considered normal and appropriate. Similarly, silence or its opposite can be misconstrued by those from differing sociocultural backgrounds in the multi-stakeholder collaborative sphere. Depending on context, silence for Māori can be admiration or dissent (Metge 2005:86). In making decisions, those attuned to marae tikanga will not stand up to convey, or assertively express, dissent, but rather remain seated and silent; agreement to what is being said or tabled is shown expressly by standing and indicating one's agreement (Metge 2005:86). Thus, stakeholders, in order to avoid instances of talking past one another or misconstruing each other's actions and sentiments in meetings, needed to have

become more equally bicultural, that is, comfortable in operating in both their own and their counterpart's sociocultural sphere, or at least attuned to its idiosyncrasies. These exchanges are also the forum for the contestation and negotiation of discourses, and hence constitute relations of power as Barclay and Liu (2003:2) have explained. Power is ability, and capability, to act in any particular or desired way. In this context, stakeholders are for the ability, the power, to be heard and understood and as perhaps, on occasion, understand the other and why they conveyed such discourse. Such desires to understand and be understood in relation to speech, Foucault (1971:8) explained, are irreducibly linked with positionality and power. Those with more power are often able to discount discourse not to their liking and present more and privilege discourse they approve. Accordingly, multi-stakeholder partnership could have benefitted through a number of means. They could have reconvened the inter-cultural educational workshops that were formerly held in the early days of the Trust. They could have jointly reformatted meetings and regularly altered them in respect to the sociocultural needs, sensitivities and communication preferences of those involved. Specifically, to ensure actual communication was occurring and in the process engender true partnership, they needed to have structurally identified ways to include each stakeholder group's input in decisions, permitting them to first air their sociocultural-specific needs and concerns, the reasons behind them, and then mutually find ways to address them.

In the third section of chapter seven I extensively examined a key issue that faces the Maungatautari project's stakeholders: Māori cultural harvest practices and rights amid the effort to restore ecosystems and conserve threatened species on Maungatautari. A few key findings were identified as a result. First, between Māori and Pākehā participants a general dichotomisation was detected in their knowledge of, and views on, cultural harvesting. Mana Whenua, whilst in favour of restoring key species to the maunga, also allowed for some future time wherein some cultural harvesting could occur. On the other hand, many, but not all, Pākehā participants were against the practice of cultural harvesting on Maungatautari in any form. A few recognised that harvesting was important for local Māori and indicated they would accept it in conjunction with a biologically-informed governing system. Revealingly, many Pākehā were unaware that local Māori had been, and would likely continue to, harvest plants, mushrooms, and perhaps more, from Maungatautari. Indeed, as I observed, local marae members were teaching each other traditional use practices of various resources on the maunga. I, and others, had heard of or seen extraction taking place. Cultural harvesting in one form or another is taking place on Maungatautari.

In interviews, conversations, and via a review of Trust documents, it has been concluded that rāhui was never placed over any biota on Maungatautari by Mana Whenua, despite its de facto status as a biodiversity conservation reserve. Trust stakeholders in the formative years of the project seemed to have had no consequential discussion and decision on the matter of cultural harvesting. No official Trust document stating its position on the matter was located or seems to exist. Interviews with participants further attest to the lack of any official Trust position on the matter. Consequently, individual members of the stakeholder groups are left to infer or guess as to what official position any stakeholder group has, let alone what stance the Trust officially asserts. Further, many Pākehā have assumed that because Maungatautari is a biodiversity restoration project, Mana Whenua would never harvest there. In sum, the variation and uncertainty surrounding cultural harvesting on Maungatautari, the spiritual-beliefs that may variously be associated with it for some Mana Whenua, and the positions of those involved in the MEIT project, means that at some future point any official sanction of Māori cultural harvesting on Maungatautari, absent a careful and thorough multi-stakeholder and larger community consultation, has the potential to seriously challenge and strain the multi-stakeholder relationship, disenfranchise the community and negatively affect volunteer/supporter enthusiasm and input.

In the final section of chapter six, a number of Trust events or developments were examined that illustrated the tension that sometimes arose relative to differing culturally-bound notions, ideals, beliefs and practices of project participants pertaining to human–biota relationships. Recall that I observed project employees collecting kiwi feathers which fell from the birds during health checks. These were subsequently given to Mana Whenua in recognition of their taonga status. Mana Whenua used these feathers to repair treasured cloaks. Additionally they gifted some to other iwi/hapū, which (re)established and/or strengthened inter-iwi/hapū relations. Similarly, when project staff returned a carcass of a bird that was donated to the project to the gifting iwi/hapū, the cultural needs/traditions of Mana Whenua and iwi as kaitiaki, and relation and obligations between Mana Whenua and other iwi, were recognised and respected. Ultimately this produced many beneficial outcomes for MEIT and the project, including more productive relations between MEIT and iwi, paving the way for more easily obtained, and smoother, future translocations.

In the wētā translocation we saw that the differing culturally-derived perceptions of participants relative to biota significantly affected a project operation. Differences existed in what individuals and groups considered to actually harm or help a species. A lack of recognition of the cultural-informed needs, values and goals between the translocation's

parties, resulted in a translocation that engendered strife among stakeholders and participants and nearly prevented the translocation itself. A central finding from this event pointed to the need for stakeholders and parties to mutually determine and implement a systematic way to ensure Mana Whenua input is always included in translocation processes, and from the beginning. Further, it seems advantageous for the parties to collaboratively produce translocation memorandums of understanding between the interested parties that ensure the cultural needs, values, and expectations of each party can be properly vetted and addressed in tandem with mutually-identified goals.

A comparison of the wētā translocation and the Duvacel's Gecko situation highlighted another factor: the impact of the composition of the decision-making or collaborative group. The group involved in making decisions on the Duvacel's Gecko matter was entirely composed of individuals from the primary stakeholder groups and those most closely connected to the project and its surrounding community. Thus, they had a more direct and multi-layered relationship with one another— they had the potential to, and more often did so than not, regularly interact in daily/weekly life in the community as well as the project. Further, because they were unaffiliated with an institution that bound them to institutional and/or other work requirements like those attendant to a research institution or school, they were more directly focused on partner in a Trust-generated environment to partner with one another and produce collaborative decisions free from formal constraints and any goals associated with an institution. In sum, chapter six illustrated the diverse and deep impact that differences of an inter-cultural nature have had upon the MEIT project and the ways they were navigated, and provided a number of situationally-derived, normative solutions.

Chapter three discussed the variegated versions of 'biculturalism' in New Zealand and chapter five examined Trust meetings of various sorts. A review of Trust meetings held from 2001 to 2010 found that at times multi-stakeholder interaction in meetings could be considered bicultural in regard to a general sense of the term. Stakeholders in these instances made room for each other's cultural notions, beliefs, values and practices, and produced a healthy trust between them as they pursued jointly-identified project goals. However, it was found that in some of these meetings multi-stakeholder interaction did not permit, nor always welcome, the sharing of cultural needs, beliefs, and/or practices, and more often than not, resulted in Mana Whenua taciturnity and withdrawal.

In the second section chapter five, several meetings I directly observed were reviewed and assessed. Four of the five meetings were deemed to have shown that the Trust's stakeholders interacted in a bicultural manner. In these meetings, stakeholders welcomed, and endeavoured to understand, and/or participate in, the cultural beliefs and practices of the other group. They jointly fostered open discussion and negotiated their sociocultural differences productively to meet their own and the project's needs. In one of the five meetings reviewed, it was concluded that interaction evinced a flawed and less-effective relationship. A pattern of disregard for active listening and the recognition of the other's cultural needs and beliefs reflected the development of factions amidst the project's wider community and within stakeholder groups. This occurred relative to attempts to restructure the Trust and alter management arrangements on the basis of racial identity and linkages to Maungatautari. Like a number of other meetings I witnessed, this one was a lost opportunity for partnership and biculturalism.

Chapter five also provided a more detailed, ethnographic examination of two Trust meetings. In both meetings stakeholders discussed a few key and contested aspects of the project or Trust, namely the designation of stakeholder groups or the nature of such a group, and property rights and relations. Overall, interaction in these meetings was determined to be inclusive of sociocultural difference relative to beliefs, values and needs. The meetings were held at a location and in a manner all parties agreed upon. Participants endeavoured to listen to and understand the viewpoints of others in the meetings. Exchanges were cordial and produced decisions and actions stakeholders jointly determined and endorsed.

In the third section of chapter five a single Trust meeting was examined in detail using both my own notes and the Trust's minutes. The Trust at the time of this meeting was exiting what was a protracted period of upheaval and restructuring, and by and large, the stakeholder groups and wider community had entered into a reconciliation phase. Participants in the meeting permitted each other the latitude to express concerns and needs, and exhibited trust toward one another. They allowed each other the time to convey and understand expressions of cultural history, beliefs and needs, and collaboratively develop plans and solutions. In this meeting, the project's stakeholders created and exhibited a multi-stakeholder relationship that was effectively true partnership that can be considered bicultural to those involved from both sociocultural groups.

This entire analysis of Trust meetings indicates that the Trust's multi-stakeholder relationship has not been bicultural in nature from its inception through mid-2012. The stakeholder participants with sociocultural backgrounds and identities did not in every exchange or meeting welcome, validate or engage in understanding the sociocultural beliefs, needs and practices of the other. Having said this, the burden of this effort does fall more to the Trust's Pākehā participants than to its Māori members. More of them need to get further from a prevailing monoculturalism and become more familiar with Māori culture and beliefs if they want to more constructively interact with Mana Whenua. However, analysis of these meetings indicated that in some instances Mana Whenua could have been more deferential to or willing to understand, the beliefs and practices of their counterparts, and less quick to reject them. Even so, it was more often the case that Pākehā in the project needed to do this.

There were some periods and meetings in which bicultural partnership did occur. Open exchanges driven by jointly identified, overarching goals and needs, apparatuses such as Māori cultural workshops, and changes to the Trust structure that better incorporated Mana Whenua were all factors in instances when multi-stakeholder relations in the Trust were bicultural. When multi-stakeholder relations were not bicultural in nature, they failed to achieve it either because of honest mistakes or missteps, a failure to truly and equally partner with each other, or to put aside cultural and identity politics.

In the final discussion of chapter five a number of meeting exchanges and situations, were examined to highlight the effect of sociocultural difference on the project. In these meeting exchanges stakeholders and their representatives in the Trust navigated project aspects and developments and each group's sociocultural issues and needs associated with them, and identified modifications or solutions that helped the project move forward whilst building their partnership. Analysis of these exchanges and situations identified a number of implementable solutions they employed. One, the Trust sought out and identified as many potential concerns, issues and problems each stakeholder group could produce relative to a proposal or intended move or action, and did this at the beginning of a process, rather than at any later point. Two, they learnt to remain open to requests for input to concerns or cultural needs, and rather than expect these needs to be met only in a way they first or traditionally envisioned, were open and flexible to alternative, modified or optimised solutions. Three, they took the time to see how a proposed solution could help one stakeholder group and made a secondary effort to recognise how it would meet a need of their own. In this way, they began to recognise that some actions could mutually meet each other's needs. The adoption of a co-chair leadership structure is a ready example. For years, Pākehā stakeholders wanted

Mana Whenua representatives to be more empowered by their constituents. They wanted them to be able to make more immediate decisions at Trust meetings. Mana Whenua wanted a more fixed position in the Trust which would regularly involve them in executive and/or management decision-making processes. By adopting the co-chair structure, both parties' needs were met. Mana Whenua felt more comfortable that their cultural needs would be adequately considered, protected and met through the new structure, and this produced a comfort level among hapū members that culminated in them granting the ability to make immediate decisions to their representatives on the board. Through this change a Pākehā stakeholder group desire to have a more nimble and decisive Trust was attained. Lastly, the stakeholder representatives of both groups took more opportunities to better prepare for the creation of a more bicultural, partnering environment. They did this through engaging more in structured and unstructured engagements with each other. Pākehā stakeholders took part in celebrations and ceremonies on marae or those hosted by Mana Whenua. In doing so they began the process of becaming more familiar and appreciative of Māori culture and tikanga. This enabled many in the Trust to better understand and help address Mana Whenua needs in the project.

These examples, along with material explored in chapter six, illustrate the deep extent to which sociocultural difference among project participants has affected the project. Cultural heterogeneity in the project has produced both negative and positive consequences. It has caused some project goals and tasks to be altered or delayed. This has at times hurt the project, slowed decision-making processes, and fuelled identity/cultural politics, disenfranchised some participants, and engendered mistrust. On the other hand, in instances when these differences were aired, explored, and genuine effort was made to understand them, it brought about unique solutions to various aspects of the project, smoothed translocation procedures, brought new life into the Trust, opened new avenues for funding, and fostered better multi-stakeholder relations and community support for the project.

MEIT Participants and Volunteers

Chapters seven and eight examined those who have to one degree or another been engaged in the project and explored their views on certain relevant concepts, issues, and terms relative to the multi-stakeholder environment, biodiversity conservation, land and sociocultural history in New Zealand and more. By and large, participants in the MEIT project were aged between forty and seventy years old and many had retired from paid work or a vocation. In common, they had a great deal of life experience with New Zealand's

outdoor environments, whether it was through their profession and/or recreational pursuits. A large majority of them were also either raised in a farm/rural environment. They related narratives of their youth spent on farms and/or in the bush or other natural areas. Many had noticed that New Zealand's natural areas had over their lifetime deteriorated and linked some of this to industrial/intensive farming practices. They provided these narratives to underscore the need to restore and conserve Maungatautari and explain their involvement with the project.

Notably, Pākehā and Māori participants expressed differing systems of conceptualising and/or talking about land. Pākehā held a dichotomised view of land: productive land or land aptly suited for agricultural production and land suited as "natural areas", which was best used to offset the negative impacts of intensive farming, provide human recreation and enjoyment and help preserve endemic biota. Māori did not espouse such a dichotomisation. They spoke of, and conceptualised, land relative to its disposition or relationship to humans. Land first was thought of in terms of who held power or had long-held connections to it: there was iwi/hapū land, rohe land, and then land that others had mana whenua over per the law. What was done with the land was secondary.

In talking about themselves, or their identity, Pākehā exhibited broad variation, which is seen as being a logical result due to the unmarked nature of their cultural identity. The term or label of 'Pākehā' was a contested term for many participants, whilst "Kiwi' or 'New Zealander' was more acceptable. Many, but not all, employed a generational cue that - expressed their 'New Zealander-ness': third-generation New Zealander, or fourth-generation New Zealander. Mana Whenua spoke of themselves first relative to their tribal identity, and measured themselves against the yardstick of marae-centric youth, that is, to what extent they were raised up on a marae. Having this experience lent strength to their identity and lacking it evoked a weakened identity and compelled the acquisition of marae experience in adulthood.

Due to the different ways Māori and Pākehā participants viewed land and connected to Maungatautari and the project, and the direct experience they had with Maungatautari and/or rural environments and natural areas in New Zealand, they shared some goals, but also held some differing goals and desires for the project. Whilst both desire the maunga's biodiversity to be restored and conserved there, these goals do not displace obligations Mana Whenua have to other Iwi and local Mana Whenua as they concern Maungatautari, their rohe, Treaty redress, and cultural identity (re)construction endeavours. In common though, those that did volunteer time and effort enjoyed the work, the camaraderie, and valued the project's role in helping to conserve key endemic New Zealand species.

Chapter eight, with its focus on what participants said about certain concepts, issues and terms relevant to the project and present in discourse surrounding it, found that though differences existed between Mana Whenua and Pākehā project participants in the ways they viewed and talked about them, many were similar and/or compatible. The differences in the views held on these issues and terms are relevant as they affect the Trust's collaborative sphere, especially when they prevent participants from achieving mutual understanding and let them feel that they have in fact communicated. Both parties, for example, agree that intensive farming has permanently transformed New Zealand's landscape, and whilst producing some negative effects, can now be done in a far more environmentally-friendly manner and in concert with local conservation efforts. Regarding views on what makes New Zealand's society distinctive from a sociocultural standpoint, Pākehā project participants espoused a 'settler-heritage adaptability' as its most unique feature, whilst Mana Whenua focused on a perception of a perceived individuality streak. Relative to what they considered to be key or defining events for New Zealand as a place or society, all participants spoke of events in ways that focused on the Pākehā–Māori relationship. The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi and the world wars were events commonly mentioned. All participants' responses also indicated a valuing of harmony or of restoring relationships. Considerable agreement among participants existed on the topic of what roles the Treaty has in conservation in New Zealand or in the MEIT project. The Treaty and the modern law and processes that have reified it, were viewed as a point of articulation for Māori cultural rights, conservation interests, and redress due Tangata Whenua. Surprisingly, the Treaty was not viewed by many as an instrument whereby Mana Whenua and Pākehā could build a partnering relationship in the Trust. Moreover, few saw the Treaty as a mechanism that could protect and include Pākehā cultural needs and views.

In the subsection concerning views on who or what rightfully should be considered a project stakeholder group, it was found that Mana Whenua recognised this status based on perceptions of existent and/or socially-recognised rights to land, or rangatiratanga, having power or authority over land. Pākehā participants generally held a more inclusive, and somewhat philosophical, take on the issue. Allowing that all humans in New Zealand contribute to conditions which hurt biodiversity, a commonly expressed view was that all in New Zealand then equally shared a responsibility to remedy the situation. This, along with the recognition that some Crown land was in the project, meant for many Pākehā participants that every New Zealander was a rightful stakeholder in the project. Discussion in chapter

eight on these issues presented specific solutions and ideas as to how stakeholders in the project can navigate these views and find common ground on which to make decisions.

Regarding 'biculturalism', it was found that differing views did exist based on sociocultural background. Pākehā participants generally viewed it superficially and focused on an outcome or product. Mana Whenua were found to view it in terms of the practices which create a bicultural relationship. The former see it more as acknowledgment, perhaps tolerance, or respect for another's culture, whilst the latter group asserts it is an inter-cultural awareness, a familiarity, built on knowledge and practice. This difference, if not recognised, has the potential to thwart the actual attainment of a true biculturalism: only one group would be endeavouring to truly learn of, and participate in, the other's culture and worldview.

Lastly, a number of key terms English and Te Reo Māori terms were uniformly understood between participants of both groups, though most were not from Te Reo Māori. Mana Whenua generally understood terms from both languages. This suggests that Pākehā in the project have, despite their participation in it, remained relatively uninformed vis-à-vis core Māori cultural concepts and terms. Thus, in total, analyses in this chapter suggested that a sociocultural divide does exist between the project's participant groups, despite the interaction and work they have done together in the Trust and project. Thus, cognitive dissonance is a likely to occur in future multi-stakeholder interactions. However, analysis also suggests that common conceptual ground and project goals are possible, along with an achieved biculturalism, if stakeholders endeavour to employ patience, willingness and openness to the concepts, beliefs, views and practices of the other.

Final Thoughts

In looking at the MEIT project through the lens of culture, and the ways multi-stakeholders have navigated cultural differences, it is easy to see that culture, that is, cultural diversity and assertions of it, have been having a significant and singular impact upon the project. Expressions of cultural difference and unique needs connected to one's culture have variously affected the multi-stakeholder relationship and collaborative sphere, and through it, the project. When stakeholders confronted differing perceptions and the unique or specific needs of their sociocultural group, and took the time to understand these perceptions and the needs and rationale behind them, solutions were often developed which benefited the project. At other times, when culturally-derived needs and beliefs were dismissed or minimised, disjuncture and discord stymied various aspects of the project and challenged multi-stakeholder relations to the breaking point. In other instances, when those with more power in

the project felt that on their own they understood enough of local Māori culture, a postcolonial 'neo-paternalism' emerged which marginalised Mana Whenua stakeholders. This neo-paternalism is a state wherein the sociocultural majority feel they know enough about a minority group's culture and frame interaction in a way which they construe as being bicultural. However, the arrangement, if not modified or circumvented, irreducibly works to maintain power and/or situational comfort for the majority. It wasn't until Mana Whenua, on the strength of their pending treaty settlement, and with their successful effort to establish a new Trust leadership structure with co-chair positions, that they were able to more directly influence conditions to bring about cultural safety and build a better foundation for that could engender bicultural interaction in the Trust (Harms 2015:12-13).

Additionally, in examining the role of culture in the MEIT project, a number of other interesting findings emerge. As discussed above, culture can be seen as context, and it is in fact, the most imposing context affecting the project. More than the relatively slow ecological and geological processes which partially set the stage for the project's emergence, culture as cultural heritage— the notions, beliefs, values and schemas which constitute the framework within which humans perceive and act— has been more instrumental in setting the stage for the project, both in creating the proximate conditions which made it necessary, and in the creation of the mechanisms by which biodiversity conservation on Maungatautari is pursued, via the pest-proof fence, the multi-stakeholder Trust and the input of labour.

Through this examination of the project we also see that while a group's culture and cultural and/or ethnic identity may be affected by the environment in some sort of reciprocal relationship, culture (including the cultural needs of a group) is not subservient to environmental inputs or conservation imperatives. In research spanning decades, this point has been clearly borne out by many authors who have summarised and assessed the role of culture amidst environmental conditions, concerns and challenges (see Peace et al. 2012, as well as Brosius et al. 2005; Crumley 2001; and Kottak 1999 which contain a wide array of case studies and summaries on the subject). These studies affirm that a culture and any change to it or its bearers is always connected to extant sociocultural structures (read sociocultural heritage, as discussed above) and is influenced by existing, but fluid, sociocultural patterns. This is particularly true for Mana Whenua of Maungatautari. In the face of episodic marginalisation in the project, and through the formation of the Trust and project itself, the NKK hapū experienced an increase in solidarity and a strengthening of their identity. Pohara and Maungatautari Marae groups came together to more formally establish themselves as Ngāti Koroki Kahukura in response to a need to provide a formal stakeholder

for the MEIT board table and through ongoing and regular communications associated with this endeavour and participation in project events. This does not displace the role of their Treaty claim, but the project was altogether a similarly potent catalyst for increased solidarity and a strengthening or clarification of identity.

In project endeavours and discussions, especially those situations which required Mana Whenua to debate project developments or proposals, or the nature of stakeholder-ship in the project, they had to consider how these developments would affect them as a group and what cultural needs specifically needed to be addressed. In these wider Trust debates and proceedings, Mana Whenua regularly highlighted certain markers of their identity, their sociocultural or ethnic distinctiveness from other New Zealanders. In doing this, their actions lend more credence to Barth's (1969:9-12,14) assertion that members of a culture-bearing group can decide what markers and differences are significant in projecting their distinctiveness. More than any other marker, Mana Whenua unsurprisingly cited ancestry via self-ascription and ascription by other Mana Whenua as well as Pākehā. Knowledge of whakapapa and mention of it, served to buttress this marker. They also at times related their direct connection to Maungatautari, with some speaking of their umbilical cord buried there on its slopes just as all their ancestors cords were. In this vein, they added the graves of ancestors and kin interred there. For some, marae membership and activity, and/or being raised on a marae, was another boundary marker for their group identity.

In the course of project meetings, when Mana Whenua invoked their identity for various reasons and/or to preface traditional beliefs and associated cultural needs the Trust would needed to consider in project tasks and events, they were also asserting their cultural autonomy or distinctiveness as an ethnic group. Such displays and moves brought up again the ongoing and difficult effort many New Zealanders of British settler ancestry contend with: defining and naming their own culture and group identity. 'Pākehā' as discussed in chapter eight, is not a term they all equally embrace. Some vehemently reject it. With some settler ancestors from England and others from Scotland or elsewhere, Pākehā do not feel they possess a concrete, common ancestry with which to delineate their group. They did often invoke their connection to land, a tradition derived from the lack of long-held familial connections to land and the linkage and status they could attain in owning land (Bell 1996:5). They cited their inclinations to work in and enjoy the outdoors, and their ability to creatively solve physical problems, as encapsulated in the expression "No. 8 wire". The dilemma was not authoritatively reconciled during my time with the project and Trust. Some Pākehā in the Trust took umbrage at Mana Whenua assertions of cultural autonomy and viewed their

actions as machinations to take full control of the project. However, most embraced their efforts and actions and sought to recognise their shared New Zealander status and saw their own group identity as Pākehā or New Zealanders of European descent. They came to accept Mana Whenua efforts as an endeavour to protect cultural taonga and their cultural rights in the project. With this recognition, culture and cultural and/or ethnic distinctiveness were recognised by Mana Whenua and Pākehā as context, their pasts, from which they were selectively choosing aspects to demarcate themselves (Barth 1969:15-16), and identifying and relating cultural needs or requirements that fellow project stakeholder groups needed to address in the Trust and project. In recognising this, MEIT project stakeholders can create an inclusive and bicultural partnership, remembering that culture is also a context, a lens through which they can better understand and appreciate one another in their multi-stakeholder efforts to conserve endemic biodiversity on Maungatautari.

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Appendix A

Discussion on 'Mana' with Tao Tauroa

Author: …so what is mana for…
Tao: The mana simply means, …the loftiness of the mountain…
Author: But mana in general, what is mana?
Tao: Oh…it's been translated many different ways and…it seems like it's part of the English language now in New Zealand.
Author: It's a powerful concept, had through all of Polynesia and, …it's been used in many different ways and misused…
Tao: Yeah... When you talk about, …the mana of a person, a particular person…
Author: …'he has great mana'…
Tao: Yeah, …and 'he's had mana, he's just created mana for himself'— he might have, …just over having achieved something, …mana…is a deep thing…
Author: Yeah, it's one of those deep…
Tao: …yeah…
Author: …complex concepts.
Tao: It's one of those… …you can attribute a person to having mana, but that, …just might be in passing, …but to us…mana means having the attention of all…it means…being significant to all, not just…a few. …[of] course before Pākehā came, Maungatautari did have mana…to…all of us, and so…when…you talk about Mana Whenua, …that people of the land…it's about…those people having…, growing with the land…they are part of…— you're almost the land but you're not… Yeah. …it's a powerful thing. So to us that's what mana means if you're attributing a person to having mana. Generally, it's in all things to do with that person's life, …where…some Pākehā use…the word mana, attributing it to a person, …it's generally…something that that person has said or…some books that he has written…but it's generally a narrow thing of that person's life…
Author: And mana would be the sum of all their life?
Tao: Yeah, the sum of all their life, …how they've acted through life, what they've achieved and…how they've given their lives…to whatever they might be good at, and generally I think in people it's when you give your life to the sustenance of your people.
Author: Yeah, there's…no greater thing than that.
Tao: Yeah… …it's like Maungatautari, you know, it's given its life to the sustenance of the people…, it has mana. [recorded interview, 25 Jul. 2012, Pukeatua]

Appendix B

Sample Pākehā Participant Perceptions of 'Mana'

To further contextualise how the pamphlet title cultural misstep occurred and how it ultimately promoted some cultural understanding between Māori and Pākehā stakeholders, a few interview excerpts are included below that focus on individual understandings of 'mana'. These excerpts represent views of 'mana' I typically discovered in interviews among adjoining landowner farmers, project volunteers and people who volunteered in Trust positions. The selections included are based on their ability to address a number of central questions: How was it that a Te Reo Māori term came to be understood differently in this instance? What meanings or views were associated with 'restoring' among Pākehā participants? Lastly, why do some Pākehā participants cognitively link 'mana' with the degraded ecological state of Maungatautari and the potential to restore it? In proceeding forward, recall that a handful of individuals played pivotal roles in launching the project, including Juliette and David Wallace. In an interview they spoke of the pamphlet title situation when I asked them to explain their understanding of the word 'mana':

> **Juliette**: …when this project began, and what was being debated was the…aims of the project, and one of them was to restore the mana of Maungatautari— and…that was from the Pākehā prospective, …to put the life force back— and then…Māori…said '…no, the mana is always there…you can't take that away.' So…the words we changed were to 'protect the mana', the life force of the mountain.
> **Author**: Hence on the brochure, 'protect'?
> **David:** That's right, they made us. Ally Tairi had a role in that, 'change it from restore, mana is never lost'. The mana of the mountain is…the enormous force of the mountain, the spiritual significance of the mountain, or the lake or the river, but especially to mountains, probably… but also to people. We use it commonly, [it's] everyday language now. 'He has a lot...
> **Juliette:** It's the respect of the life force that exists there.
> **David:** …he has a lot of mana. 'Matthew Harms has a lot of mana with those people now', a lot of respect, you know, looking up to.
> **Juliette:** …it's a respect for the life force, …if…a person has mana, it's…the lifeforce...
> **David:** Yeah, they have…
> **Juliette: …**the lifeforce within that person, who they are…
> **David:** If a person has mana, they have the respect of a lot of other people…
> **Juliette:** Well, I know…
> **David:** …people look up to them, respect them, because of who they are and how they behave.
> **Juliette:** So you could interpret that as the life force that's in them, that makes [them]

> who they are. [recorded interview, 01 Jul. 2011, Karapiro]

Juliette then elaborated on her understanding of ‘mana’ and how it connects to mauri:

> I am talking about the respect for the lifeforce— if you have mana it is respect for the lifeforce which is…in you, that gives the respect, it's who you are, …and so if you put the lifeforce of a mountain, it's who it is, it's what it is, it's what it projects, and you have respect for all of that, the mauri. [recorded interview, 01 Jul. 2011, Karapiro]

David and I then exchanged some ideas on the subject. When he stated that Māoridom’s leaders have mana, I related I heard it said that even non-Māori can have mana. David agreed, saying that Sir Brian Lahor had mana. At mention of this Juliette said light-heartedly and with a kind smile: “But isn't that just a European way— it's…one of those lovely words that flows, so, we've taken that…and applied it in our culture by giving it to a rugby player…”. Overall, the exchange suggests David views ‘mana’ as the respect people have for a person, though for Juliette there exists a conceptual link between the terms ‘mana’ and ‘mauri’. They both view mana as the respect others have for a person based on how that person acts or what they have achieved. Juliette equates the respect others give to a person, to respecting that person’s lifeforce. Commonly, they both allow for the possibility that non-persons, such as mountains or rivers, can have mana.

Elwyn Andree-Wiltens, a volunteer and adjoining landowner farmer expressed the view that to have mana “is to have great bearing” and that one with mana is “regarded well”; her husband, Albert, who unlike her is not a natural-born New Zealand citizen, having come from Holland in his youth, admitted his ignorance of the term and Māori words: “I’m not that good on all that” (recorded interview, 12 May 2011, Oreipunga). For Carly and Tony Rolley mana is the “status” or “standing” a person has related to power, though more a “charismatic power rather than positional power” (recorded interview, 01 Jul. 2011, Matangi). Long-time volunteer Sue Reid noted that there is “a lot of Pākehā meanings to it…” and that “it’s…not a simple [word]”, and indicated it “involves importance…and [that] it’s not necessarily something you earn” as “it can be [had] just through birth…”, but still, “[i]t can be through actions that [someone builds] mana” (recorded interview, 21 May 2012, Te Awamutu). Sue added that mana is not limited to people, and mentioned Maungatautari as something that possessed mana (recorded interview, 21 May 2012, Te Awamutu). Rod Millar, another long-time volunteer, admitted he knew little of Māori culture, but added, “I’ve learnt more in this project about [Māori culture], than I knew before…” and said of ‘mana’: it “doesn’t necessarily have to be our Māoris”, (i.e. only associated with Māori), clarifying that it

"probably just means…being able to be proud of what you are and not compromise your values" (recorded interview, 08 Aug. 2011, Cambridge). Fiona Judd, a former MEIT co-opted community trustee, stated, "I think 'mana' is actually a word that can ultimately end up being improperly used, and then I think mana is a sense of self; it's a sense of you knowing what your self-worth is. And I think that's a virtue. Where it becomes a vice, is where it actually becomes prideful, and borders on hubris, in that you have [a] sense of [your own] mana" (recorded interview, 04 Oct. 2011, Hamilton).

Appendix C

Timeline of Sub-enclosure Planning and Construction

The timeline below canvases the primary events surrounding primary sub-enclosure construction in MEIT. The timeline is constructed from information extracted from Trust publications, minutes and sub-committee minutes from 2003 and 2004.

Mid-2002	A section of demonstration fence is built on Bill Garland's farm
12 Dec. 2002	A Meeting is held at Out in the Styx Guesthouse Café to discuss the having sub-enclosures within the larger mountain-enclosing fence
14 Feb. 2003	Information day held at Maungatautari Hall
21 Feb. 2003	Information day held at Pukeatua Hall
19 Mar. 2003	Trust meeting held. A major discussion revolves around the Trust's apparent preference to undertake and complete a SE before the NE and Tangata Whenua expectations for true consultation on the matter
25 Mar. 2003	Special or informal Trust meeting held to revisit the debate over the building of enclosures and the order of their construction. They dismiss as 'tokenism' the idea to build the northern side formal entranceway first "to enable formalities to be satisfied" or treat this sub-enclosure as separate from the rest of the project
May 2003	A draft Iwi report for the MEIT newsletter reports that extended whanau and Māoridom have strong support for NKK's "proposed commercial development project" (i.e. an integrated cultural and eco tourism visitors centre) next to the reserve/NE above Hick's Road
1 Nov. 2003	'Start of Project' ceremony at Maungatautari Marae. After a powhiri, participants went up to the site for the Northern Enclosure. Nanaia Mahuta, MP and of Waikato-Tainui Tribe with connections to Maungatautari Marae and Maungatautari via a family land trust, led the blessing of the site and hiki, or lifting of the tapu, and the turn of turf, along with Diane Yates and Martin Gallagher, local MPs (Members of Parliament)
7 Nov. 2003	Xcluder Pest-Proof Fencing company begins construction of the Northern Enclosure fence.

17 Dec. 2003	At a Trust meeting it is announced the Lion Foundation, with caveats, will provide NZ$750,000 to build a visitor enclosure on the mountain's southern side. A motion is made and carried to direct MEIT's CEO to contract with Xcluder for the building of a southern enclosure once the cheque is received from Lion Foundation.
Feb. 2004	The Trust reports at its monthly meeting that $300,000 from the Lion Foundation has been received
Feb-Mar.2004	Xcluder's digger is moved to southern side, clears up to a 1200m path for the fence in the bush by mid-March. Southern Enclosure fence construction commences, while work on the Northern Enclosure continues
30 Apr. 2004	The Northern Enclosure is officially completion is celebrated by 3,000 schoolchildren who make a human chain around the enclosure's fence
Aug. 2004	The Southern Enclosure is completed. Pre-monitoring of pests in both sub-enclosures commences, in preparation for first eradication efforts

The Maungatautari Ecological Island, in physical form, began at what came to be known as the Northern Enclosure in November 2013 with the placement of a fence pole. Full construction began six days later and continued to completion at the end of April 2004. Construction of the Southern Enclosure began in mid- to late-February 2004 and was completed in late August 2004. When MEIT decided that a sub-enclosure within the larger mountain fence was needed, and before construction of the Northern Enclosure began and even after it, there was debate in the Trust among trustees and stakeholder groups as to where one or more should be placed and which built first, what they should be used for, how commercialised they should be, what they would be used for long-term, and more. In these discussions Mana Whenua and Pākehā trustees and community members advised the Trust to consider and abide by Māori tikanga, or cultural protocol. Hapū representatives, we can conclude, either did not voice concerns over starting the project somewhere other than the northern side, or were uninformed of such developments. Those in the Trust advocating for the quick construction of a sub-enclosure on the southern side anticipated that location would enable the Trust to take advantage of nearby tourist traffic, hence develop a tourism-based revenue stream.

Appendix D

Wallace Interview Excerpt: Reprioritising the Northern Enclosure

Author: What do you know about the timing of the completion of the Northern Enclosure versus the Southern Enclosure?
David: Okay…
Juliette: Well, it started with…
Author: I heard one was going and then…
David: That's right.
Author: …it was held up for another to be finished.
David: No, no, um...I can tell you a little human story about that. We decided we'd build two enclosures, you know...
Author: To test out the fence...
David: To test the fence...
Author: ...demonstrate it for the whole mountain.
David: ...demonstrate it, uh, but to be the special places at the northern side and the southern side of the mountain for people to come, like we said earlier in this conversation, to bring the public in general to particular places and to manage those places, if you like, a little bit artificially, you know, with bird feeders and that sort of thing, um, so that you bring the birds down to people, good tracks, schoolchildren, education… …we were going to build the southern one first…
Author: Why, why was the southern one… [I was going to ask why the SE was for him the enclosure to be built and completed first. He and Juliette anticipated this, and she then chimed in before I could my finish my question.]
Juliette: Because of the access.
David: Because of access.
Author: '…'cause of the road?
David: The road went right the way there...
Author: Tari road?
David: It was only a grass road when we started.
Juliette: And also there was some surveys done, and there were 72 buses a day in the peak of the season…
Author: ...going by on the Arapuni Road?
Juliette: ...going by on that road down to Waitomo.
David: Yeah, past Out in the Styx... So we were building the southern one first, and then the word came through, they said, 'no, no, that's not our iwi way...'
Author: Who said that?
Juliette: '...the sun rises and shines on the north side first...'
Author: Yeah. Who, who brought that up?
Juliette: It was Kara, It was Mrs. Kara.
Author: The iwi representatives on the Trust?
David: I can't remember specifically, it would only be one, might have been Peter Tairi.
Juliette: But Mrs Kara said that, that day we were up on [Maungatautari Marae] David.
David: Ollie Kara?
Juliette: Ollie Kara…

David: Did she? Yeah…
Juliette: She remembers talking about...
David: Anyway, I…we thought about this, okay, so this, we were a bit startled by this, 'you should build one side before you build the other side.' We didn't think it would make any difference but we had to respect that, so, ... [after relating how his family and the Tairi family have some shared history he adds] … Nora Tairi was Ally's mother, and when this thing came up, 'you must build the northern one first', but they were the strongest voice and they were saying we want the one on our side first. Did it have real cultural significance for them? So I went around to Nora Tairi and I sat with her because I had a friendship with, I didn't see her very often but I had a friendship with her and I Said, 'tell me this, they're telling me, we're starting to build the Southern Enclosure because that is where we have got access and the people, but the iwi, the Māori trustees, or one or two of them are saying 'no, you should build the northern one first'. Tell me about that'. And she gave me the story: 'David the sun rises here', and she gave it authenticity for me, now...
Juliette: Well, it's oral history isn't it? It's just handed down...
David: It was their oral history, and they were applying some principle in their culture to this, I said 'that's fine,' I went back and said to the Trust 'we'll build the northern one first'. Cut, finish, that's it. This lovely, ah, I have huge respect for her, and if she tells me that's part of the culture, we just do it. So we did it. [recorded interview, 18 Aug. 2011, Karapiro]

Appendix E

Tao Tauroa Interview Excerpt on Incidental Kererū Use

Tao: …yeah, I think…we'll address that problem when it becomes a problem…, at the moment it's not an issue. I mean all we want is to increase the numbers on Maungatautari. And the importance of birds in our diets, back in pre-European days, was merely the fact…that it provided protein, …there was no other protein meats or protein available.
Author: Just fish and that, but yeah.
Tao: Fish, inland, and inland you're…pretty restricted…so the bird provided a source of protein. And so in this day and age it's hard to argue that you should be eating kererū for the protein benefit…
Author: …at least as your staple diet…
Tao: …yeah, so, I mean all sorts of ideas will be concocted I suppose or resurrected about why we…should be eating kererū, but I don't think we should be eating it for the sake of eating it.
Author: …do you think anybody is, perhaps?
Tao: No. no. no.
Author: No? Okay.
Tao: No, no, no, look there are, some of my cousins will allude to me, 'will you gut and shoot a kererū?' I said, 'don't tell me'.
Author: Well, yeah I have heard people, and they've told me, you know, 'every now and then, we might…
Tao: …they're the radical ones, …they are doing it for their own personal reasons, not for anything cultural, yeah, 'my grandfather ate them so I should eat them,' you know. That's not good enough in this day and age. [recorded interview, 5 Dec. 2011, Pukeatua]

Appendix F

Andre-Wiltens Interview Excerpt on Cultural Harvesting

Elwyn: …[cultural harvest] is not such a bad thing, in a controlled or reasonable way— to collect plants for health, for homeopathic care… But like anything, it should be…done carefully, not…plundering, because nothing can survive a plunder. In times before they would have been careful about those special species— you don't go and eat a kererū just because they're easy to catch. At the end of the day they're going to say…, 'we'll keep the mums and we won't touch the babies from this age…' I guess that people would have had rules or…guidelines. And…if you could get some really good… naturopathic…care, to save you going in and buying…commercially made items, for upset stomachs, boils, …would that not have been sensible…? You can learn from that.
Author: It sounds like what you're both saying is that the optimum thing to go for is sustainable use, …provided…
Albert: Yeah.
Author: …there is some sort of oversight…
Elwyn: Yeah.
Author: …to keep it going?
Albert: Definitely, yep, yep. And…as far as the mountain's concerned, I suppose that's— and the sea for us too…
Elwyn: …you might say, well the sanctuary, or the enclosures for example, 1, 2, and 3, are non-enterable for those purposes, but, you could say all the rest of the mountain could be [utilised]…
Albert: …once your numbers are built up…
Elwyn: Yeah.
Albert: …to a certain level, and then like you say, you have to do the research. That's the thing to do. Yeah.
Author: Yeah.
Albert: I mean they are doing bird counts already up there now aren't they? So they know roughly what…
Elwyn: Who's multiplying…and how it's…
Albert: …what there is there, it's something that has to happen, yeah, monitor.
[recorded interview, 12 May 2011, Horahora]

Appendix G

Cultural Harvesting, Conservation Goals, and Maungatautari

On the afternoon of 20 October 2011, I had lunch with John Earwalker and his wife at their home. John, a retired doctor, is a New Zealander of European ancestry and long-time volunteer with the project. We met as volunteers whilst manning a visitor's booth that formerly was located just outside of the Southern Enclosure. On that occasion, we discussed a number of issues then facing the project. At one point John mentioned that a month earlier, while he was volunteering at the booth, a situation occurred that worried him. At that time, being a 'meet and greet' team volunteer entailed welcoming people as they arrived, answering their questions, noting how many were in their party and recording where they were from. On that September morning he said some Māori ladies from Tokoroa went into the Southern Enclosure. He said they did not stay long like most visitors. When they exited the enclosure's double gates he noted they were carrying armfuls of plants harvested from within. John said he confronted them about taking plants out of the reserve, and in reply, they explained 'they were entitled to it as they were Māori'. To his obvious concern at the removal of plants from the sanctuary he said they shrugged it off, informing him that the removal of some plants would not hurt Maungatautari, it would recover just fine. He told me that given the short time they were in the enclosure and given the amount of material they were carrying, he estimated they likely harvested plants from the first 100 to 200 metres of the bush corridor along the track. He added that a number of volunteers (one who I later discovered was a local Māori man who didn't want his efforts and his name announced) had for a time regularly planted various plants along the main path in the enclosure down to the first stream crossing, to help quickly re-establish and beautify bush undergrowth in this corridor as it is the primary thoroughfare used by tourists, school groups, and other visitors. John related a concern, as he wanted the project to succeed ecologically: if people harvested in an unregulated fashion on Maungatautari it could retard or even prevent the ecosystem's recovery, undermining the community's efforts.

In discussing this event with MEIT trustee Robyn Nightengale of Raukawa, she remarked, "if they are from Tokoroa, …they're easily Karaitiana's and Tao's relations" (recorded interview, 24 Feb. 2012, Parawera). Tao Tauroa in an interview told me that Ngati Raukawa has its rohe from Tirau to Tokoroa and south from there (recorded interview, 25 Jul. 2012, Pukeatua). Thus, the ladies could have it been from either hapū, but it should be

noted, people don't always live in their hapū's rohe, thus we cannot be certain which hapū these ladies belonged to. In any case, the real matter to examine is not the specific hapū membership of those harvesting, but how such practice relates to the project and the views and expectations of its stakeholders. In my conversation with Robyn, when I informed her that volunteers specifically worked to make the bush understory thrive in the entrance corridor by planting ferns and more there, she said the Māori women went there

> because they use…either pikopiko or they go right in and get watercress. But they were doing that before the fence went up. …in fact, we used to go up to Maru Road as kids with our father and pick watercress up there. …these are practices— just because you put a fence up there doesn't mean that it stops. [recorded interview, 24 Feb. 2012, Parawera]

She then gave her opinion that those going there were people who knew where and when to obtain certain resources, and this indicated they were locals, or in other words Mana Whenua, or local hapū, and hence had a right to do so. Robyn then explained that local hapū like the farmers had their own special entrances to the bush to access it for personal use. In the course of project working on Maungatautari, I noticed that many farmers obtain water for their cattle from streams coming down from Maungatautari. When the project started, many requested from the Trust and received special access gates through the fence on their property that would enable to easily reach and maintain these water systems. After I related all of this generally, she stated, "I still think that the mountain isn't just so pristine that we can't go and take natural harvests…in sort of reasonable amounts" (recorded interview, 24 Feb. 2012, Parawera).

To back up this notion and evince how her views had recently changed, she related some recent events wherein she was reminded by others how they and their families, while growing up, harvested mushrooms for food and plants for medicine. This helped her again recognise Maungatautari's value in ways other than tourism, and recognise its "value in terms of what is actually there" (recorded interview, 24 Feb. 2012, Parawera). This suggests that she and others who have obtained food and medicine from Maungatautari at times throughout their life have a differing connection to it than other stakeholders and thus value it differently from them as well. This further suggests that Mana Whenua stakeholders prioritise various projects goals differently from other project stakeholders and have some goals that are not shared amongst all stakeholders. Further, Mana Whenua may very well want the ecosystem there to recover, just as other New Zealanders do, but may not share the common reasons for

doing so, and stress differing reasons for this goal; a recovery for what it can provide in terms of culturally-desirable foods and medicine more than any intrinsic value or its ecological value for the nation or international conservation.

Appendix H

Stakeholder Interaction and Cultural Issues in MEIT 2001-2010

The survey below stems from an effort to ascertain how the project's stakeholders interacted in meetings I did not directly observe, meetings from 2001 through 2010. As I reviewed the agenda and minutes of each meeting, I tabulated on an Excel spreadsheet the questions, issues and concerns connected to cultural ideas, values, and concepts that arose in discussion and debates, as well as any overt cultural actions/performances which were mentioned (e.g. karakia or prayers). I noted the sociocultural affiliation of those behind the cultural expression or concern relative to a cultural need or notion, and how these expressions were received and handled amongst the Trust's stakeholder representatives. The spreadsheet's data provides a picture of these concerns and issues that were a part of Trust meetings and directly affected multi-stakeholder interaction. The meeting survey and summary below presents the date of each meeting surveyed, indicates the total number of culturally-related entries tabulated on the spreadsheet, summarizes the nature of the cultural issue or expression and indicates how it was handled or received by others at the meeting. Additionally, it notes the item number in which these items are located in meeting minutes, and employs a single letter abbreviation/code identifying the sociocultural affiliation of those behind the cultural issue or expression (e.g. 'M' for Māori/Mana Whenua, 'P' for Pākehā, or 'B' for both Māori and Pākehā). The evaluation of this survey and material, found in chapter five, provides an analysis of these meetings relative to biculturalism and multi-stakeholder interaction.

2000-2010 MEIT Meeting Survey

In the December 2000 meeting, before the Trust officially formed, 4 occurrences were noted: farmers raising questions of Māori ownership of land on Maungatautari were informed Raukawa was collecting an oral history, 3, P; a request for another Fieldays-like event for all adjoining landowners, was accepted, 3, P; "Mount" was suggested (erroneously) as needing to precede "Maungatautari" in reference to the maunga, prompting a review, 5, P; discussion over not overstating Mana Whenua roles in the project led to the decision to further evaluate their respective position, 5, P.

The July 2001 meeting saw six entries: "Mount" is confirmed as not needed with use of the name "Maungatautari", 4, B; agreement reached on use of the phrase "Returning the

Mana", in relation to the project's all-encompassing vision statement, 4, B; general open discussion on land and financial issues for adjoining landowners, 5, B; a motion authorising an ecological research and planning firm to develop a Maungatautari restoration plan is tabled and carried, 6, B; report that landowner contacting efforts are progressing, though among Mana Whenua it is proving difficult, is received, 7, B; B. Kara's protest to the idea of an educational facility close to the bush is accepted, 8, B.

The seven tabulated instances from the March 2002 meeting are: MEIT is informed the Māori Queen owns land that would be behind the project's fence, and the idea that perhaps she could be the project's official patron is accepted, 11, M; concerns/questions regarding water access and land rights for adjoining landowners once the fence is erected, are considered and accepted, 12, B; MEIT accepts the point that Māori who do not own adjacent or maunga land may view project differently than those who do,13, M; MEIT accepts notion that even lifelong Pākehā adjoining landowners will find Māori perspectives of the project foreign, 13, M; MEIT, advised that a 1800+ hui-a-iwi is to soon happen for Māori to discuss views of the project, and that the Māori land court will need to be consulted, accepts the information, 13, M; To MEIT's offer of help for the iwi consultation, Tao Tauroa's advises that iwi will handle it and that the Trust needs to respect hui-a-iwi decisions, which is accepted, 13, M; MEIT, upon advisement that Raukawa hapū wants WDC to retain administrative control of Maungatautari (instead of it going to MEIT), acknowledges this stance but will consider each option, 13.3, P.

The nine entries for the February 2003 meeting are: MEIT accepts and adds as item 8 on the agenda, Willie Te Aho's intent to present iwi plans for north side development, 4, P; Iwi's north side development plan for a visitor/conference/kaitiaki management centre and backpacker inn, is accepted, 8, M; marae representatives' notice that Māori own less than 1% of taonga they used to own in the area, that they are passionate about the land, and regard well Maungatautari's nice look and feel, is accepted, 8, M; iwi are informed, and accept, that the best way for them to achieve north face development plan is to partner with all Trust stakeholders, 8, P; Trust accepts suggestion that no mountain biking be permitted around sub-enclosures, 11, B; Tao Tauroa relates that hapū would have preferred main visitor's site on the north face, but consents to Tari Rd./south site, which is accepted, 12, M; Peter Tairi asks for assurances that North sub-enclosure will be completed before main encircling fence commences, a request the Trust accepts, 12, M; statement that the community wants Maungatautari to be relatively unchanged, with limited tracks installation and development,

is accepted, 12, P; Jim Mylchreest and Annie Perkins state that the first consultation was rushed, thus more, better, and wider consultation is needed, which the Trust accepts, 12, P.

The July 2003 meeting contained eleven entries: Ron McGough opens and closes the meeting with karakia with approval of the Trust, 4,16, B; Julie Lowen invokes ancestor and Parawera Marae connections to Maungatautari, which is accepted, 5, M; the establishment of a quick, decision-making executive committee, comprised of the chair and deputy chairpersons and an iwi and adjoining landowner representative, is approved, 6.2, B; QEII and nga whenua rahui are proposed as methods to protect project land and the fence, and are accepted, 7, B; the idea that every adjoining landowner should have a fence gate, is accepted, 7, P; the idea to get and present a project endorsement letter from the Māori Queen and emphasise stakeholder partnership in a MEIT funding meeting with central government, is tabled, and dismissed, 9, P; a rejoinder from marae representatives, suggesting that instead the Trust should provide evidence of a tangible partnership with iwi, noted in a letter, is debated but left undecided, 9, M; T. Roxburgh's notice that a draft memorandum of understanding, concerning the Trust and iwi protocol and expectations, was currently circulating, was mostly accepted, 9, P; G. Stephenson's point, that a disconnect exists in a supposed need for a MoU because 'all stakeholders are in the Trust and the decisions it makes are done unanimously', is discussed, and Māori relate that they feel formal agreements are needed between MEIT and each hapū/iwi to preserve their interests, 9, B; a discussion on whether there should be classes of trustees in MEIT, such as a direct stakeholder, voting and representative class, is acknowledged, 13, P. Annie Perkins suggests the Trust permit people a say in decisions via a website forum, which seemingly was ignored, 15, P.

Seven examples were noted in the March 2004 minutes: Ron McGough offered an opening karakia per an agenda item, 4, B; discussion relative to having a powhiri and hui to celebrate completion of the Northern Enclosure is accepted, 11, M; discussion over approaching Māori TV to cover the celebration, and not just the Holmes programme, which wants an exclusive, seems to have been unresolved, 11, B; Gordon Blake's alert that Maungatautari, per Māori beliefs, is considered male, and that the restoration plan refers to it in the feminine, seems to have likely been accepted, 13, P. MEIT CEO Jim Mylchreest's announcement, that some walking track construction on land block 4GIV has been completed, despite an as-yet unsigned temporary land access agreement with supportive owners, is accepted, 19, P. In this meeting, as in a few prior to it, no iwi report was provided— a development that remains, ostensibly, openly unprotested by the Trust generally, 20, B; a maunga work volunteer's protest at long walks with equipment from the

carpark to the N. Enclosure is heard, but MEIT iterates its commitment to adhere to landowner wishes (i.e. no vehicles are to be routinely driven there), 21, P.

There were seven entries in the May 2005 meeting: Ally Tairi's suggestion, that the kiwi bird release be simple, to reduce stress on the bird and respect visiting Tuwharetoa iwi who gifted the kiwi bird, was accepted, 10, M; Chairman D. Wallace declares that the Trust is willing to do the reintroduction with or without Māori tikanga, however local hapū want it done— a sentiment echoed in remarks by G. Blake that emphasise the project is about mana for the maunga and admonish MEIT to avoid offense— is accepted, 10, P; discussion concerning what tikanga would apply to reintroductions, and what part DOC plays in it all, is accepted, 10, B; discussion, over the need to apply metal to the over-the-mountain track (OTM) (some within local hapū were against development of this track) to prevent erosion and damage to flora, is accepted, 10, P; R. McGough's statement, that the maunga should be left to itself, not changed (e.g. metalling the OTM) to cater for people, is accepted, 10, M; During the Iwi Report, D. Lewis calls for no further OTM track metalling, and G. Stephenson responds by asking iwi input to the erosion problem, to which iwi indicate they will consider the matter and later provide an answer to the Trust, 14, B; entire Trust discusses the project's vision and what compromises have been reached to date, and then agrees on the imperative of good communication and finding common ground to surmount differences and avoid splintering into factions, 17, B.

Eight instances were noted in the December 2005 meeting: R. McGough offers an agenda planned opening karakia, 4, B; the advisement that an individual is approaching every Trustee to discuss placing a needed storage container on Māori land at the end of Hicks Rd., is accepted, 6.2, P; Tao Tauroa's insistence on future consultation with iwi, like that had in the past, is accepted, 12, M; McGough's request for inclusion in donor iwi takahe bird reintroduction processes and communications is accepted, 12, M; McGough's advisement that hapū kaumatua need, out of respect, more advance notice vis-à-vis reintroductions, is accepted, 12, M; Tauroa's notice that Ngai Tahu don't require tono for takehe, and that they want to retain ownership and decision-making roles on any relocated takahe, is accepted; 12, M; Tauroa's request that NKK be recognised in the MoU for takahe reintroductions as kaitiaki of Maungatautari, to create a bond between NKK and Ngai Tahu, is accepted, 12, M; Chairman Wallace's request for further direction to hone reintroduction roles and processes for all stakeholders, is accepted, 12, P.

The nine instances noted from the April 2007 meeting were: the chairman and CEO's announcement that some issues are to be discussed before Trust meetings to save time is accepted, 7, P; the chairman's instruction that Trust staff are to support the Tangata Whenua committee by sending out meeting notices for it and recording its minutes, is accepted, 7, P; McGough and Tauroa's notice, that the Tangata Whenua committee is to meet more regularly and be more formal, is accepted, 7, M; the chairman's suggestion that the Trust's chief ecologist provide a report to MEIT on Tangata Whenua committee meetings, with the intent to help MEIT better meet the committee's recommendations, is seemingly not accepted, 7, P; Tauroa's statement that local iwi want to be a part of any tourism venture MEIT creates, including the processes that create it, seem to go unaddressed, 7, M; Tauroa's statement that a karakia is needed for the S. Enclosure aviary, which was already being built, is accepted, 13, M; Tauroa's request on behalf of iwi that they be made aware of the disposition of a dead kiwi bird's carcass is accepted, 13, M; Tauroa's request for travel funds for kokopu donor iwi to attend the reintroduction and conduct karakia is accepted, 13, M; McGough closed the meeting with a karakia, 16, M;

These were the nine entries noted for the May 2008 meeting: McGough offers an opening karakia, 4, B; Willie Te Aho's update on the NKK Treaty claim, which may include both the Waikato River and Maungatautari, is accepted, 5, M; G. Stephenson's request for a full complement of people on the Tangata Whenua committee is accepted; 7, P; G. Blake's advisement that MEIT give full support to the Treaty claim, as the issue of Maungatautari, he explained, is not of ownership but of co-management, is accepted, 7, P; Livingston's advice, that NKK's Treaty team should advise central government that a change in the maunga's legal ownership might affect project funding streams, is accepted, 7, P; Wille Te Aho's declaration that the beneficiary of the claim would be the maunga itself, is accepted, 7, M; G. Blake's assertion, that co-management means inclusion of best practices and Māori customary rights, is accepted, 7, P; G. Roberts' declaration that the Treaty settlement will happen regardless of what MEIT does, is accepted, 7, M; MEIT passes resolution to support NKK's move to attach their claim for Maungatautari to their Waikato River claim, 7, B.

There were eight entries for the October 2009 meeting: R. Nightingale gave the agenda appointed karakia, 4, B; R Nightingale's alert that she and her marae were unaware of MEIT's dire financial state, was likely accepted, 5, M; Tao Tauroa's resignation, in protest of the situation wherein the CEO and staff felt compelled to resign due to lack of funds, and a lack of partnership with iwi in project management and administration, is lodged, 5, M; Iwi landowner Lynn Maru's chastening, that MEIT needs to better communicate with all

stakeholders, is accepted, 5, M; Rose Smith's statement, that MEIT needs to involve and talk more with Mana Whenua, is accepted, 5, M; Judd and Montgomery's rebuttal, that marae/iwi representatives on the Trust change too often, seems to go unaddressed, 5, P; G Stephenson's reminder that Iwi want partnership, not consultation, seems to go unaddressed, 5, P; Graham Scott's information that WDC wants MEIT to look for co-management with Iwi, seems to go unaddressed, 20, P.

The February 2010 meeting had four entries: G. Stephenson's priority request for a discussion with Mana Whenua concerning the need to install permanent toilets for Southern Enclosure visitors, seems to go unrequited, 6, P; MEIT, when in committee, hears Mana Whenua's position and call to trial a board arrangement with equal numbers of iwi and non-iwi representatives, and accepts, 10, M; MEIT acknowledges Otorohanga Kiwi House's offer to loan some tuatara to the project, subject to iwi approval, 15, P; Karaitiana Tamatea offers closing karakia, 18, M.

Appendix I

Detailed Survey of Trust Meetings

From March 2010 I attended Trust board and management meetings, as well as various sub-committee, executive committee and other special meetings in connection with the project. A short review of five of these meetings provides a view into the tenor of multi-stakeholder collaboration from 2010 to mid-2012. Further, the reviews identify the culturally-related issues and concerns that were often present in MEIT multi-stakeholder discussions and which affected the project in some fashion. Each review ends with a brief summarisation which identifies the core issue of the meeting and comments on the quality of multi-stakeholder interaction in the meeting relative to biculturalism.

Fieldwork-based MEIT Meeting Reviews

25 March 2010 Special Trust Board Workshop

On the evening of 25 March 2010 a special Trust board workshop meeting was held to discuss a proposal to restructure the Trust in an effort to make it more representative of stakeholders or reconfigure the balance of power in the Trust, and how this should or could happen. In the debate on the matter, Gordon Stephenson, the Trust's then deputy chairperson, stressed that MEIT was intended to be a partnership. Some in the debate pointed out that Mana Whenua were acknowledged to be well-organised as a stakeholder group, while "non-iwi" were not. In this, they were lamenting what they saw as an advantage for iwi, which they lacked: group unity relative to some common, unifying aspect.

A woman from the gallery objected to a perceived power attached to the adjoining landowner status, pointing out that most of the land in the project was publicly owned/held DOC land: a connection to Maungatautari, she opined, should not be restricted to blood and/or land ties. Debate thereafter, focused on the impending NKK Treaty settlement, which would undeniably place the vast majority of project lands into Mana Whenua hands, and the question of why community volunteers could not be considered a stakeholder group. Tao Tauroa reminded everyone that with the Treaty settlement, DOC land there would come back to Mana Whenua, and indicated support for the structure change, as it would enable partnership. Alan Livingston asked why volunteers, who make the project possible, could not be considered a stakeholder. Tauroa allowed that they are a significant group in the project now, noting however, that when it started, their presence was small. I noted that the

exchange, overall, was quite cordial. Many restated others remarks (a sign of active listening and healthy communication), and most did not speak over one another. A Māori woman used some Te Reo, though, and did not provide a translation. The Trust's sitting chairman ran the meeting, and according to my observations, spoke a fair amount and permitted everyone who indicated they wished to speak, the chance to do so.

Some in the meeting agreed to the proposed Trust reconfiguration as the meeting's end was drawing to a close. Karaitiana Tamatea suggested they get consensus on the matter, stating that the reconfiguration being discussed did not meet with Mana Whenua approval, and accordingly, barriers were going up. He indicated that MEIT should get this resolved presently and not push it to the next workshop meeting. He then stated that iwi were quite busy, especially with Treaty negotiations and related issues, and that Māori in the project, have an identity and that everyone else needed to get or find their identity and formalise adjoining landowner organisation.

After the workshop officially ended, a special presentation was given by trustee Fiona Judd, followed by Andrew Tawhiti and Glen Ormsby of the Department of Discovery (DoD), a private cultural tourism business. Judd, who had been tasked with conducting a treetop walkway feasibility study, rejected it (based on timing), and after meeting with DoD, recommended they enlist its services to establish a cultural experience-oriented ecotourism endeavour on Maungatautari. A great deal of ensuing discussion on the matter revolved around the need to quickly decide whether to support it and submit a funding proposal to the nation's tourism department by an impending deadline to launch the endeavour. Tao Tauroa, expressed the desire for the Trust to be safe (i.e. culturally safe), admitted an experience-oriented tourism approach would be good, but related his disappointment that Mana Whenua were not consulted from the outset on the idea. He and Robyn Nightingale then agreed aloud that asking for a decision and commitment on the idea at a workshop meeting was out of order, but agreed to have DoD make a presentation to Mana Whenua. Thus, the inter-stakeholder relationship in this meeting, though respectful and communicative, projected a multi-stakeholder relationship that was more consultative than partnership, at the very least, in the eyes of Mana Whenua.

2 December 2010 Trust Meeting

The following are the relevant issues and topics which arose during a Trust meeting held 2 December 2010, when the Trust and community were debating whether to advance a reconfiguration of the Trust's structure or return it to its original form: MEIT acting chairman

Doug Arcus invited K. Tamatea to provide a karakia, which he did in Te Reo with no translation; Arcus announced that only trustees, MEIT staff and committees would have the right to speak at the meeting (a precedent for these meetings), other than those approved to do so by procedural motion; by trustee Bruce Dean's motion, which was carried unanimously, community members and other landowners were permitted to speak; Dean related that the absence of tuberculosis on Maungatautari and the return of a dawn chorus had added value to his farm of 26 years; Tao Tauroa asked MEIT's permission for Mana Whenua to meet with members of MLC to explain their Treaty claim and MLC member Peter Holmes accepted on their behalf. This meeting, which was run tightly, was quite focused on the restructuring decision. Few other issues or concerns were present. Inter-stakeholder concerns revolved around the Treaty settlement and determining Mana Whenua's future role relative to Maungatautari as a place, and as an eco-island project.

11 August 2011 Trust and Community Meeting

On 11 August 2011, the Trust held an open meeting with the community to gather their thoughts on a proposed restructure of the Trust and their views on the project's future. About sixty people attended the meeting at the Matariki Room of the Don Rowlands Centre in Karapiro. Individuals were permitted to speak as they saw fit, with most raising their hand for a turn. The following instances were those I recorded which specifically pointed to, mentioned, and/or demonstrated a cultural aspect or facet relative to the differing sociocultural backgrounds of meeting participants: K. Tamatea offered a karakia to begin the meeting after he explained the reasons behind having a karakia, and providing everyone an idea of what he was going to say; G. Stephenson reviewed some of Maungatautari's recent history, mentioning the 1986 lodgement of a Treaty claim for the area, and 2010 Trust move to 're-recognise an intended, primary partnership inherent to Maungatuatari' between adjoining landowners and Mana Whenua; a vote by a raise of hands was in favour of moving toward an incorporated society over a non-profit trust; in discussions of adopting memorandums of understanding between community volunteers and MEIT, Bill Garland opined that they would be an instrument to enable the parties to respect one another and their culture; G. Stephenson asks K. Tamatea to offer a closing karakia, which he does in Te Reo. Again, the primary concern between the stakeholders was the working out or reconfiguration of the multi-stakeholder partnership in the Trust, and one quite concerned with including or making room for, and not steamrolling, the culture and cultural needs of Mana Whenua.

21 September 2011 Trust Meeting

The following overview of the issues pertaining to culture and sociocultural differences between stakeholders as found in the 21 September 2011 Trust meeting, provides yet another view of the MEIT multi-stakeholder relationship, and one during the Trust's and community's rebuilding phase: G Stephenson asked K. Tamatea to offer a karakia as the meeting began, which was performed in Te Reo; there was discussion concerning a perception or judgment that the Trust was being used as leverage by some landowners to pressure the government to not favour Mana Whenua wishes in regards to their Treaty claim involving Maungatautari, and in conjunction with Mana Whenua's stated desire to be more involved in efforts to address the standoff, stakeholder groups in the Trust decide to jointly approach the government to receive help so that the project would not be made to suffer; K. Hodge of Raukawa, in relation to the ongoing standoff between the Trust and Peter Holmes, relates that the meeting has not produced enough information for her to take back to her hapū to make a decision concerning the possibility of relocating the project's fence from Holmes' property; there is discussion and multi-stakeholder agreement on the sentiment that MEIT and its project should in no way be part of the government's NKK Treaty calculus vis-à-vis a few landowners' demands that Maungatautari not be returned to Mana Whenua via a Treaty settlement; in discussion concerning the possibility of displaying the famed terrestrial kākāpō/parrot Sirocco on Maungatautari for a short time, the meeting chair asked Mana Whenua what concerns they had concerning the idea, to which the Trust is advised by T. Tauroa that contact between the them and donor iwi would need to be established; Tauroa raised the issue of not making the maunga into a zoo relative to hosting Sirocco (again, the famous kākāpō DOC "spokesbird"), and discussion surfaced the idea of adding an educational element to Sirocco visitor experiences; relative to landowner rights (which really are the rules that determine the relationships between various groups of people relative to land (Hann 1998:4)) and the reality that corporately-owned Māori block owners can change their minds absent legally-binding agreements, the Trust discussed the progress of obtaining said agreements with a certain land trust (which cited the presence of wāhi tapū, specifically burials) so that the Southern Enclosure's visitor entrance could reopen, which produced the determination to proceed patiently; Tamatea closed the meeting with a karakia at the invite of the meeting chair. In this meeting then, the stakeholders navigated the sociocultural differences they each held concerning relationships to land, or again, more accurately, between each other relative to land. Interaction was open and room was made between them

to partner in decision-making and work toward their individual cultural needs whilst still pursing project interests.

31 January 2012 Trust Meeting

A review of the 31 January 2012 Trust meeting provides a view of the evolving multi-stakeholder relationship four months later, and again amidst a time when distinct factions existed in the community based on differing views of how stakeholder representation and power should be configured in the Trust, what the project should be long-term, and whether or not Mana Whenua should gain title to Maungatautari in their Treaty settlement. Again, a focus on the sociocultural needs and issues between them prevails to highlight the role cultural is playing: in a manifestation of the Trust's commitment to publicly showcase its intent to fully partner with Mana Whenua and utilise a new co-chair arrangement, co-chair Karaitiana Tamatea chaired the meeting; Tamatea invited Tao Tauroa to provide a karakia, which he did in Te Reo from a prepared manuscript; Tamatea invited all present to introduce themselves to the new general manager of the project; Tamatea explained the location's significance, a battle site in which an NKK ancestor burned the bodies of their fallen warriors on a rock outcropping over the Waikato River to prevent cadaver desecration by their foe, and then noted the symbolism in the room's artwork depicting the river, the maunga, *taniwha* (a water spirit or dangerous, powerful creature or guardian) and more, and explained some of the phrases on the wall, relating that "Ta tai tono" meant "bring people together"; T. Tauroa asks for clarity as to what nominations for open positions and Trust structure formats, stemming from mediation with MLC, that hapū should consider; Tauroa reminds all present that the Maungatautari Reserve Committee has jurisdiction and stewardship over the reserve, but not over Māori land on Maungatautari, thus, there is no current protective mechanism for Māori land; Tamatea accidentally used Te Reo during a meeting procedure, apologised, and explained that he was accustomed to saying the phrase often in other settings; Rangitionga Kaukau (from Ngāti Haua) related that in addition to addressing health and safety concerns, the Trust should address Māori cultural safety issues; to Kaukau's remarks, Tamatea chimed in several times, using the phrase, "ka pai" (i.e. good, or 'I agree'); Tamatea throughout the meeting regularly solicited input, comments, questions on each topic, as well as people's feelings on issues, even when a motion was not on the table; Tamatea called on Tauroa to provide a closing karakia, and during it, I observed two hapū trustees repeating the words of his karakia quietly. Overall, this meeting was for Mana Whenua culturally inclusive, and yet provided comfortable room for the procedures, notions, concerns and needs of both groups.

Appendix J

Participant Views on Key Terms and Concepts

In regard to my focus on biculturalism and partnership in the project, I wanted to see what understandings and ideas participants had concerning a number of terms and concepts relative to conservation in New Zealand from Te Reo Māori and from a wider New Zealand or global sociocultural context. In the course of interviews I asked participants to relate their understanding of various terms either when the term naturally arose, or in part of the interview in which I informed them I would be asked about a number of terms. Names are withheld from the excerpts below so that the focus of this exercise does not become one where differing conceptions of terms are linked less to persons in an attempt to reveal any wider shared understandings across their sociocultural group. A large and diverse array of responses was received. Due to space constraints, the information below is a number of selections which are seen to best represent the spectrum of responses received.

Responses are presented by the sociocultural identity that participants' provided during interviews. Separating the responses in this way enables us to see the conceptual domains in which intercultural understanding is shared in the community relative to some of the more key terms and phrases that regularly featured within Trust meetings and between MEIT participants. Responses from those who identified as a European New Zealander, or as a New Zealander or Kiwi but not also as Māori, are presented first as a group labelled 'NZ' for 'New Zealander'. The second grouping of responses is from those who identified as Māori or from any Māori tribe or subtribe. These are collected under the label of 'Māori'. As a note, because Māori terms can vary by dialect and tribe, and are best understood in context, differences among responses in the second group can possibly be attributed to this variance. However, these responses were collected from participants under the advisement that the context was the MEIT biodiversity project and its community.

Cultural Harvest, Customary Use Rights or Cultural Resource Management

NZ

- "Making money from [culture]"
- "isn't one I've really come across"
- "Māori…are allowed or have a permit [to] get…customary right crayfish for the tangi"

Māori

- "access to customary food supplies and also, …the cultural protocols"
- "rights…granted, [for] ethnic food [to be] collected for a particular event that [is a] cultural event,…like a tangihanga"
- "I [can] go to the sea…only to get enough…for myself and maybe for my extended family"
- "something I've a hard time accepting. …it means, because we are Māori we can have a certain amount of food, or a certain, that type of thing…"

Environmentalism

NZ

- "[it's] to do with the whole environment, developed and natural,…where you …have environmental values,…accept what is here and now, both the developed landscape and the native landscape and you do the best for both"
- "base [your] whole life around [your] environment…through the decisions that [you] make… If I don't recycle…what impact it that going to have?
- "being aware of [the environment] so that you don't damage it"
- "environmentalism is a greater picture, isn't it, of, conserving, it is, is one thing, but environment as a whole"
- "doing whatever you are trying to do sustainably"

Māori

- "Making sure that whatever you do…is not going to have an adverse effect on what surrounds you"
- "not necessarily conserving it but it is the manner in which you're using, you know, whatever is out there in the environment"; "broad"; "Larger picture"
- 'the pursuit of all those nice, fuzzy, expensive environment[al] dreams by mad-hatters that become the burden of all'; 'living and breathing them'

Conservationism

NZ

- "more limited term, in that it seeks to focus on the natural landscape, it seeks to prevent the loss of biodiversity"
- "keeping what you already got"

- "saving stuff…planting… watching those trees grow, nurturing them, looking after them"
- "conserving what we've already got"

Māori

- "both…preservationism and sustainability"
- "conserving what we've got"
- "something that you can do something about here and now you know and in the future"
- "…saving things, saving the world"; "mak[ing] [environmental dreams] a reality"

Preservationism

NZ

- "preservationism is a conservative approach to conservation, trying to preserve at all costs…to the point of excluding humans"
- "enhancing and protecting the environment"
- "preserving the bush"
- 'not heard of it'

Māori

- "keeping the essence…of a food source or of a species to its particular richness"
- "protecting in its current form"
- "don't know"
- "we are doing that with the birds… …preserving them, nurturing them, …not go in and kill them or harvest them"
- "leaving things as natural as possible"

Sustainable Use

NZ

- "use natural resources, water, air, soil in a way that the practices that…you could still be using them in 50 or 100 years time, and that natural resource is in as good a shape or even better than it was when you started"

- "continue doing what you are doing, as long as…you're measured over time you can mitigate against any impact…": "to keep on using that resource"
- "being able to grow things and replant so that it's sustained"
- "to use anything, any resource, any whatever, in a fashion [so] it will endure"

Māori

- "the long-term…strategies, mechanisms to ensuring the long-term survival of…the preservation process"
- "the un-exploitation of a resource, and allowing that resource to recover"
- "ensuring that, you know, our water ways are kept clean and clear and farming in a way that supports that riparian strips across drains and rivers"
- "letting the plants grow so we can sustain that constant supply"
- "Isn't that what the fence allows us to do? …you know, to keep all those things in, within and nurture what is within?"

Pākehā

NZ

- "It's non-Māori really"
- "it's derogatory"; "mean[s] white skinned or something"
- "it's not a very polite word… …but I also don't find it all that insulting because I am, what I am"
- "It sounds like some lower class dog, yeah. I prefer to be called European New Zealander…"
- "a…white swamp rat or something"; "the Europeans of this country"
- "I don't find it offensive. I think it means new, or white person, well I believe that's what it means, newcomer"
- "European settlers to New Zealand up until…[the] Second World War"

Māori

- "I always thought it was a white person"
- "the comparative word for non-Māori was Pakeha. …Pakeha was about—'pa' means for me is the impact of the influencing, 'keha', of that, of that white sheet or that fair sheet, or that fair coloured thing, the sail, and that's what Pakeha means, it means to be affected by,…from my perspective, by that

white, the arrival of a white sheet, a ghostly looking sail, yeah no, it is, so that's Pakeha"

- "white or European"
- "growing up…[it] meant essentially that you had to be visibly white… We mistakenly use[d] that term…so [it] became people who we thought were of European background. Having travelled abroad, Europeans and Europeans, …so…Pakeha, are really New Zealanders, white New Zealanders"

Kaitiakitanga

NZ

- "something to do with food"
- "places of great significance culturally to Māori"
- "guardianship"
- "to do with blessings and translocations…? …but not sure…"
- "not familiar with the word"
- "governance… [Māori] control of resources and…their guardianship of them"
- "food from the land or something like that"

Māori

- " to look after…the physical, spiritual state…of a species,…of a mountain, of a water space, parts of Mother Earth, and Father sky, forever"
- "looking after nature to let nature…be self-sustaining,…so…you do have continuity of life and continuity of food source"
- "a guardianship, it is a caretaking role,…or responsibility…that can be attached to the environment…, can go beyond conservation… Protecting…by moderating use"
- "caretaker, …to look after"

Rohe

NZ

- "don't know"
- "our area of land…our place,…territory"
- "A Māori group right? Like a tribe, a smaller group"
- "a subtribe, so it's a, it's an iwi group"

Māori

- "a geographical area, space"
- "your patch…your area of recognition…hapu have their recognised…rohe"
- "a specific…location…geographically defined by the presence of a [resource]…"; "…presence in the area, presence of people who may have access to a specific resource and it may not necessarily be food…"
- "our area"
- "hapu area"

Tapū

NZ

- "sacred"
- "sacred…shouldn't be touched, a no-go area…"
- "it's a bad place to go until [Māori have] come and had a little chat with it"
- "[it] means, bad, no, its naughty, it's tapu, it's got a hex on it. It's got bad spirits. …it's absolutely right out of bounds"; "[on] an area, …an object"

Māori

- "sanctity, sacred,…has a special energy and power that you need to be aware of,…and you need to acknowledge in one form or another"
- "beware or something that…should be treated with caution…with a great deal of respect or know the reasons why they are tapu"
- "a condition… Tapu…is something sacred or it has to be dealt with in a very special way"
- "sacred"; "respect"; "I'd say [associated with] places…"

Mana

NZ

- "respect"
- "great standing"
- "respect of the lifeforce that exists…within [a] person"
- "respect for the stature, the character of [a] person"
- "…it's a pride… …the respect that's held in [somebody]

- "being able to be proud of what you are, and not compromise your values"
- "Mana is your, …I would call that charisma. …and can refer to…an area"
- "the esteem that you are held in"
- "standing"; "status"; "position"; "positional power"; "charismatic power"

Māori

- "esteemed presence that someone or something…has"
- "having the attention of all,…being significant to all"; "in people it's when you give your life to the sustenance of your people"
- "mana is like… Strong."; "a strong feeling of your belief"
- "first and foremost, integrity,…a way people conduct themselves [which] people recognise… …it is the people around you who bestow that mana"; "mana of a building because of the name…after the ancestor…at a place because of a certain event that happened there"
- "it's respect of others who will give you that respect in return to boost your confidence. If somebody doesn't,…earn that respect than they are not going to have very much mana. Mana is something that others give to you. It's not something that you can take. …therefore I say you must earn it. But then, …sometimes people give you that mana, but if you don't have the confidence to use it, and use it respectfully, then it's gone"

Mauri

NZ

- "don't know"
- "lifeforce"
- "I take it as Māori"; "…sort of I would say, not ancient Māori, is that the right word?"
- "I think it means sort of the spirit of things"

Māori

- "the lifeforce or essence…of an article or a person"
- "lifeforce or…what makes something special… …that energises"
- "having a spiritual belief"

- “everything has it, even the stones, it is that lifeforce…that embodies that creature”; “personalities in nature”
- “well-being… The essence of…”